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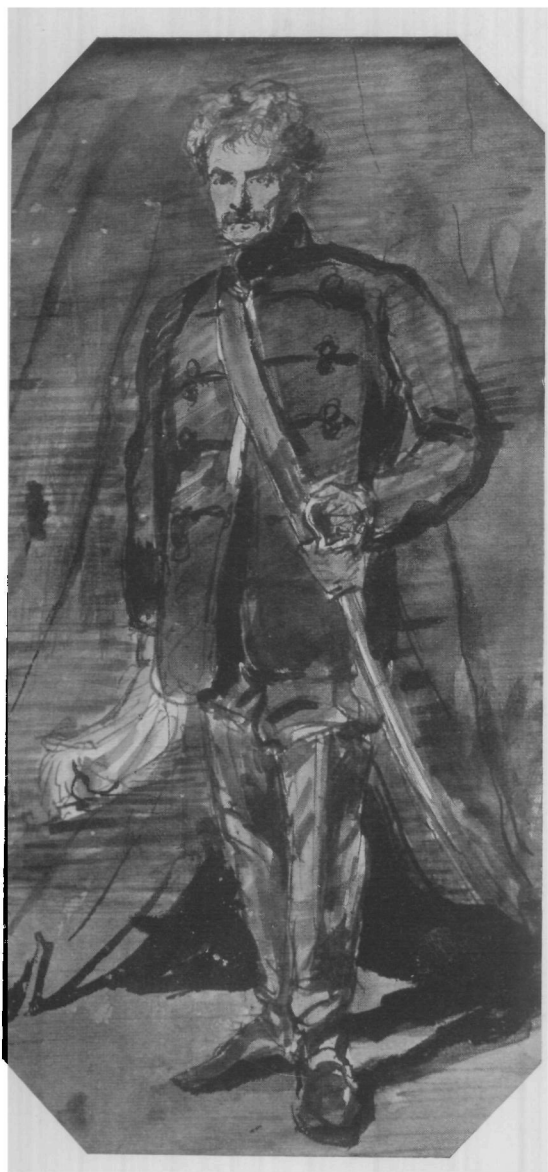
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THE REVOLT IN HINDUSTAN



LORD CLYDE

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THE REVOLT IN HINDUSTAN 1857-59

BY

SIR EVELYN WOOD, F.M.
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AUTHOR OF "CAVALRY IN THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN"
"THE CRIMEA IN 1854 AND 1894" "ACHIEVEMENTS OF CAVALRY"
"FROM MIDSHIPMAN TO FIELD-MARSHAL"

WITH EIGHT ILLUSTRATIONS
AND FIVE MAPS

METHUEN & CO.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN THE "TIMES"

117-24153

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First Published in 1908

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I DEDICATE THIS NARRATIVE TO THE MEMORY OF THE
EUROPEANS AND ASIATICS WHO LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES
IN MAINTAINING THE SUPREMACY OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM IN INDIA, DURING THE YEARS 1857-58-59

EVELYN WOOD, F.M.

PREFACE

MANY of the numerous correspondents who have assisted me in amplifying the Articles, published in the *Times*, October 1907, expressed the hope that my narrative would be republished in book form, and I have now made it a short history of the principal events in India from 1857-1859. In re-submitting the studies to the Public I have practically re-written the chapters concerning the operations before Dehli; its Siege, and Capture, dealing more fully with the gallant feats of the Bengal Engineers; and I have incorporated the suggestions from correspondents, which I have been able to verify.

I am grateful to the Home, Colonial, and India Press for their appreciation of the Articles, not only as regards the style of the narrative, but of my efforts to write fairly of the contending Races.

General Sir Digby Barker, K.C.B., who accompanied Sir Henry Havelock in his Relief of the Residency of Lucknow, and was the first man to enter the Baillie Guard intrenchment through an embrasure, after some suggestions for "the very excellent history," wrote: "2nd January, 1908. I think your history is wonderfully accurate and complete, as regards the events in which I took part."

Field-Marshal Earl Roberts congratulated me "heartily, on having given to the Public such a graphic account of all that went on in that eventful period."

If justice has not been done to some Corps, I plead that the failure is partly due to the very meagre records of some of our most famous Regiments.

As regards orthography, the Geographical Society follows the principle of the India Survey, which is based on Sir William Hunter's system, adopted by the Indian Government, and by Captain Eastwick, who wrote: *Murray's Guide Book, India*. I have conformed generally, but have left: Kahnpur, Lakhnao, and some other names, burnt into the minds of old folk by harrowing memories, as they read of them fifty years ago: "Cawnpur, Lucknow."

EVELYN WOOD, F.M.

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¹ From Fitchett's *Tale of the Great Mutiny*, by permission of Smith, Elder, & Co.

THE REVOLT IN HINDUSTAN

1857-59

CHAPTER I

THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLT, AND OF THE OUTBREAK OF THE SIPAHI MUTINY

WHEN, in February 1856, the retiring Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, discussed Indian affairs in Calcutta with his successor, Lord Canning, the new Governor-General could not have foreseen, and Lord Dalhousie, who lacked imagination, had no apprehension, that within fifteen months our supremacy over 150 millions of Natives would be endangered. In his mind the only apparent possible source of future trouble was in remote Persia; for the advice of Sir John Low, a companion-in-arms of Sir John Malcolm, and the one old soldier among the Calcutta councillors who was conversant with Sipahi and Native life, had been for years generally, though courteously, disregarded. This being so, no account had been taken of the existing political disaffection in Bundelkhand, Oudh, Rohilkhand, and the Narbada provinces, or of the skill of astute Hindus in fomenting insubordination in the army.

Lord Dalhousie was a strong and determined ruler. In 1848 the Rajah of Satarah died without leaving an heir, and in 1849 "The Right of Lapse" having been enunciated by the Governor-General with less consideration than earlier Muhammadan conquerors in Hindustan had shown in similar cases, that Principality became a British possession. Lord Dalhousie conscientiously thought his decision just; but, as no Hindu can hope for a future world unless his heir, begotten or adopted, performs for him certain funeral ceremonies, it is obvious that Hindus must have resented it. Bhonsla, the Rajah of Nagpur, died in 1853 without issue and without having adopted a successor; and Lord Dalhousie, ignoring the Hindu custom of recognising the widow's rights of choice in such cases, annexed that territory with its 700,000 inhabitants. Moreover, in the same year, Jhansi, originally a dependency of the Peshwa's, was annexed on the death of the ruler. The widow, indeed, received a pension of £6000, but out of it she was directed to pay her late husband's debts. She never forgave us; in the Mutiny murdered many Christians she had sworn to spare, and fighting bravely against General Sir Hugh Rose, was killed in action in 1858. The Court of Directors of the East India Company had disapproved of Lord Dalhousie's proposal to annex Karauli, one of the smallest but oldest States of Rajputana. Unfortunately, the suggestion became known, and its subsequent discussion alarmed all Hindus.

Baji Rao, the ruler of what is now the Bombay Presidency, on being defeated in 1818, abdicated his position as Peshwa in exchange for the titular rank, a pension of £80,000 and a residence at Bithur, 12 miles from Cawnpur. He adopted Nana Sahib, and later petitioned the Governor-General that his adopted

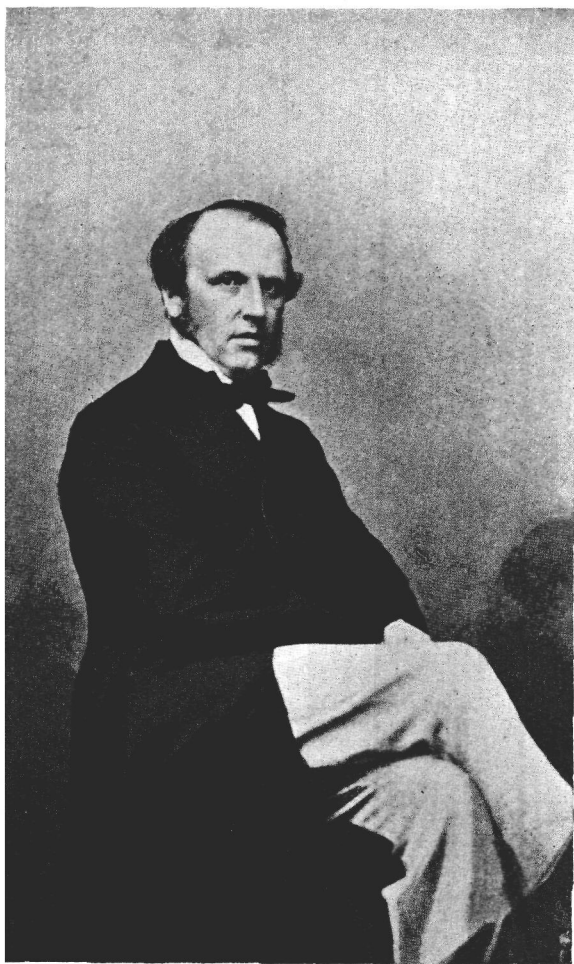
son might succeed to the title, and pension. To this petition he received only a vague reply. When Baji Rao died in 1851, Nana Sahib applied for a portion of the pension for the support of the late Peshwa's dependants; but this was refused, and Azim Ullah Khan, his representative, who went to England, failed to get the Calcutta decision reversed in London.

The absorption of Oudh into our possessions was, however, the last and most momentous act of Lord Dalhousie's administration. The King of Oudh was utterly unfit for his position, and the territorial aristocracy, though fighting amongst themselves, tyrannised over the people, whose misery was deplorable. The system of government has been aptly described as a combination of anarchy and robbery. On the other hand, the extinction of one of the few remaining Muhammadan States, whose ruler moreover had provided us with money and innumerable soldiers, created a very bad impression amongst all our Native subjects. The annexation deeply affected the Bengal army, which drew 60 per centum of its recruits from Oudh; for the privilege they possessed, and greatly prized, of the right of appeal whilst on furlough to our Resident for speedy justice under the Native rule, was now lost.

The aristocracies of the North-West Provinces and of the Southern Maratha country were deeply affected by the working of the Settlement Act. The Survey on which the Act was based was begun in 1833, when Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General; but its drastic effects only became apparent many years later, and then varied according to the views of the individual officers in the Revenue Department. Before the Survey there was practically no system of land taxation. In Hindustan, land was generally held by village communities, and the Government rents were

paid by Talukdars, hereditary Revenue farmers, who retained for their own use the difference between the Government assessments, and the actual rent received from the cultivators, or Zamindars. The Talukdars had in many cases a proprietary right as Zamindars, and they had for centuries been the most influential class in the north-west of India. Both classes naturally resented being obliged either to prove titles, which rested, in some instances, on weak foundations, or to cede what they held to be their freehold property. Several of the young Revenue officers, having daily proofs of the incapacity of these Revenue farmers, and of the cruel oppression of their agents, tried to make the village communities direct tenants to the Government, to the immense relief of the cultivators of the soil. Some of the older officers, trained according to the views of Sir John Malcolm, and holding, with Sir Henry Lawrence, that equal justice should be rendered to the aristocracy, and to the peasantry, were unwilling to admit that imbecility or misuse of power justified the transference of proprietary rights, though it might often be essential to make over their exercise to trustees. Nevertheless, the men of the new school were generally supported; and in a typical case, that of Mainpur, the nearly imbecile Rajah, in spite of years of former loyal good service, lost 138 of his 189 villages, as he could prove a good title only to 51 of those which his family had possessed for over a century.

There was much to disgust the Brahmans. Formerly they had ruled all the social life of the Hindus. They got fees for marriages, births, and deaths; education, law, and religion, and every kind of business had been in their hands. Now telegraphs, railways, European education, and, worst of all, a Court of



VISCOUNT CANNING

Appeal, were breaking down their privileges and power. They skilfully played on one supposed grievance, by spreading about reports that the Government intended to abolish Caste. These reports became amongst the mass of Hindus the principal incitement to revolt, for any violation of the arbitrary rules of Caste appeared to all to be a step towards forcible conversion to Christianity. Ten years earlier an attempted reform in rationing prisoners in jail had given rise to a widely accepted belief that such a measure was intended. Previously, every prisoner received a monetary allowance, and cooked for himself. This being conducive to idleness and detrimental to regularity, cooks were appointed to prepare food for their respective Castes, and the Brahmans asserted that, later, low-Caste men would be employed for the purpose, and would thus pollute all for whom they cooked.

In the schools, boys heard much about the Christian religion, of which the parents disapproved though they did not withdraw their sons, either from a wish to stand well with the local British authorities, or from a desire to secure for the scholars employment under Government.

Lord Canning promulgated in 1856 the law passed the previous year legalising the remarriage of Hindu widows, and this, an act of the purest benevolence from a British point of view, was regarded, and justifiably, as a blow against polygamy. The publication of this law was coincident with increased missionary activity. Zealous young Protestant clergymen incapable of the conciliatory tolerance of St. Paul, who could proselytise amongst the Athenians without giving offence, and who lived peacefully for years at Ephesus without insulting the worshippers of Artemis, not content with extolling their own religion, inveighed strongly against Hindu and Muhammadan beliefs, thus

adding to the irritation induced by their advocacy of one form of religion for all in India.

Very few Natives understood that the Missions were private enterprises, and the vernacular newspapers made the most of all intolerant expressions of the clergy of the Ruling Race. There were some few indiscreet commanding officers, who thought it right to proselytise as long as their efforts were made outside the regimental lines. The feeling of the army is shown by the following extract from a petition presented by a commanding officer of a Bengal infantry regiment. The petitioners, after reciting the grievances of the new cartridge, of the pollution of salt and sugar, state: "The representation of the whole Station is this, that we will not give up our religion." That the Hindus really feared forcible conversion to Christianity is apparent in an appeal made to Jang Bahadur in February 1859 by mutinous soldiers of the Bengal army who had taken refuge in Nepal—"We fought for the Hindu religion. The Maharajah, being a Hindu, should help us." This petition is given in the Appendix to *The Sepoy War*, by Sir Hope Grant and Colonel H. Knollys. Reports among the upper Muhammadan classes that the Government contemplated their forcible conversion to Christianity became so prevalent, that in 1856 the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal issued a conciliatory proclamation on the subject. All these rumours added fuel to the smouldering fire of discontent; and the Hindu prophecy, dating from 1757, that there would be a change of government in a hundred years, encouraged the malcontents. In February 1857 cakes of unleavened bread were distributed amongst the villages under British rule in the North-West Provinces; and, although the intention of the originators has been interpreted differently, everyone saw in the distribution

an act hostile to the Government. A similar distribution of cakes in the Madras Presidency fifty years before had been followed by the mutiny at Vellur.

The disaster to our troops at Kabul, culminating in the calamitous retreat in the winter of 1841-42, had shaken the belief of Asiatics in the might of the British soldier. Reforms had been instituted in the Native army which tended to raise its self-esteem, while the urgent representations of Lord Dalhousie that the vast extensions of territory, acquired by conquest and annexation during his rule as Governor-General, necessitated an augmentation of the white garrison of India, were disregarded by the Home Government. On the other hand, 40,000 men and 40 guns had, since 1844, been added to the Sipahi force. Dalhousie's successor, Lord Canning, had only 38,000 Europeans to face the mutiny of the Bengal army, the discipline of which had been weakened by injudicious concessions to Caste pretensions; while the Native troops in India numbered 200,000 men, conscious of their immense superiority of numbers.

While the Native soldiers dreaded the European troops less than they had done formerly, they had ceased to respect many of their own British officers, from whom all power of rewarding by promotion had been taken; and this because the Headquarter Staff of the Army realised that the commanding officers being old and worn out, were no longer good judges of efficiency: thus absolute seniority became the rule. The average length of service of the Briton who commanded the ten Bengal Regular Cavalry regiments was over thirty-eight years, and that of the captains averaged twenty-eight and a half years. They, like the Native officers, rose by seniority, the system being untempered by compulsory retirements.

In the Bengal army over 1000 of the best officers were absent from regimental duty in 1857; some selected for service with Irregular Corps; others employed in administering the Civil Services of Scinde, Nagpur, the Cis, and Trans Satlaj, the Panjab, and recently Oudh; so the Native soldiers served in many cases under the unenterprising, lazy, listless officers.

In January 1857 the detachments assembled at the Musketry Depôt at Damdamah, 8 miles north of Calcutta, to learn the manipulation of the Enfield rifle, which was to take the place of "Brown Bess" after its use for 105 years, suspected, and with sound reason, that the lubricating substance, smeared on the bullet to facilitate its being rammed home, was composed of beef fat and hog's lard. Although no such cartridges had been, or in fact were ever, issued to regiments—the Government, on being warned, having sanctioned the soldiers' making up the lubricant themselves—yet fear of loss of Caste, of forcible conversion to Christianity, and of drastic punishment for any refusal to use the cartridges, spread far and wide. There was also much excitement amongst the four Native battalions stationed at Barrackpur, 16 miles west of Calcutta, where an anonymous letter was picked up and read, inveighing against the sale of polluted flour, and the use of greased cartridges; while letters were sent broadcast calling on all Sipahis to resist the insidious attacks on their Caste and Religion. A battalion at Barhampur, near Murshidabad, 100 miles north of Barrackpur, was the first unit to rise; but it was checked by a regiment of Native cavalry and some Native artillery, and eventually marched quietly to Barrackpur, where it was disbanded on March 31.

Meanwhile at that Station the first blood had been shed. Mangal Pandi, a Sipahi, 34th Bengal Infantry, drugged with bhang, and blustering in front of the quarter guard, shot at the European regimental sergeant-major, and the adjutant. He was still fighting furiously with both of them when he was seized and held by Shekh Paltu, a Muhammadan Sipahi, the champion wrestler of the regiment, until the white men escaped, in spite of the opposition of the guard, who threatened they would shoot Paltu unless he released the assassin. When General Hearsey, commanding the division, with his son and others of his Staff, arrived on the scene, he saw a crowd of Sipahis mostly unarmed, and undressed, and some European officers. Mangal Pandi was calling to his comrades, "Die for your Religion and Caste!" The general, with a pistol at the head of the jemadar in command, coerced him into ordering the guard to follow, and rode straight at the menacing fanatic. To his son, who shouted, "Take care of his musket!" Hearsey replied, "Damn his musket! If I fall, John, rush on him and kill him." As the general closed on him, the mutineer, reversing his musket, shot himself through the breast. Both he and the jemadar were hanged afterwards by sentence of court-martial, the latter voluntarily admitting the justice of his punishment, and exhorting his comrades to take warning from his fate. Nineteen years afterwards, Mr. Commissioner G. H. Ricketts came across Shekh Paltu, and obtained for him the proprietorship of a confiscated village.

The regiment was disbanded, but the Bengal army was already on the verge of mutiny. Incendiary fires became common in April, while Nana Sahib, who was regarded as Peshwa by all Hindus, visited Kalpi, Lucknow, and Dehli. He had seldom previously

quitted Bithur, where he entertained many officers of the Cawnpur garrison, lending them elephants, horses, and carriages, and was generally regarded as a kind, inoffensive, but dull Native. Nevertheless, he was very astute, and had never forgiven what he regarded as the confiscation of his estates; and although the Government could not discern the signs of impending trouble, he and other Maratha nobles had been plotting for years against their overlords. The conspirators received but little encouragement from reigning princes, or from the Bengal army, until the annexation of Oudh caused general alarm at all Native courts, and grave dissatisfaction among the Sipahis.

The first concerted outbreak occurred in the cantonment 2 miles north of Meerut, a town of 30,000 inhabitants, 40 miles north-east of Dehli. On April 24, 90 men of the 3rd Native Cavalry were paraded to practise tearing instead of biting off the end of the cartridge, a change intended to allay suspicion; but all except 5 refused to receive the ammunition. They were sentenced by general court-martial to ten years' imprisonment with hard labour. They were placed in fetters on parade on May 9, an operation lasting several hours, and then lodged in jail under Native guard. The degrading ceremony, carried out amid the appeals of the prisoners to their comrades to rescue them, and the taunts of Native courtesans from the Bazaars, so inflamed the Native mind that it precipitated the Mutiny, which by an understanding known only to three or four men in each corps throughout the Bengal army had been arranged for Sunday, May 31. The cantonment of Meerut stretched over a wide extent of ground. The frontage of the European lines alone was nearly two miles from east to west, and three-quarters of a mile from north to south. The artillery lines

were at the east end, then came infantry barracks, the church standing between the latter and the cavalry lines. A broad road, the centre of which was called the Mall, extending 2 miles nearly east and west, separated the European from the Native quarters and the Bazaars, which were built on the south side of the Mall. To the south of the Carabiniers' lines was the Dragoon Bazaar, and to the south of it were the Native infantry lines. The 3rd Native Cavalry were quartered a mile to the south of the Native infantry, in the south-west corner of the station. The jail in which the insubordinate troopers were imprisoned was outside the town, in the south-east corner of the station, nearly 3 miles from the Native cavalry lines.

On Sunday morning, May 10, there were no suspicions of the impending Mutiny. The European artillerymen and the greater part of the 60th King's Royal Rifles had attended the morning divine service, carrying sidearms only, as was then the custom. As all guards, even that over the Quartermaster's Stores of the 60th King's Royal Rifles, were furnished by Native infantry, it happened that no European carried a rifle at the moment of the outbreak.

In the evening the Carabiniers, and a detachment of the 60th, crowded out of the church in the morning, for it accommodated only half of the Christian garrison at one time, were preparing for divine service. Captain Muter and other officers of the 60th were early on the parade ground, and just as the first of the soldiers appeared, they hurriedly ran back on the shout being raised, "The Sipahis are killing their officers!" While the riflemen were arming, Captain Muter, having consulted the officers who were on parade, sent Lieutenant Austin, who had volunteered for the duty, to hasten with the first detachment which was ready, to secure

the Commissioner's office, which held the Public Records and the Treasury. It stood to the south of the artillery lines and a mile and a quarter from the 60th King's Royal Rifles barracks; but Lieutenant Austin, by "doubling" nearly all the way, disarmed the guard without a struggle and secured the buildings shortly before the mob came out of the town to sack the Treasury. Meanwhile the greater part of the 3rd Cavalry Regiment galloped to the jail and released their 85 comrades. The 11th and 20th Bengal Native Infantry assembled on their adjoining parades. The 20th killed 4 of their officers, and Colonel Finnis, 11th Regiment, who had ridden over and was exhorting the battalion to remain loyal. Then with the cavalry they fired the cantonment, and having murdered every European, male and female, whom they met, they marched for Dehli. The 11th Bengal Infantry hurt none of their officers, although the men drove them off the parade, and the majority of the battalion remained in villages near Meerut for forty-eight hours before going to Dehli.

There were two generals at Meerut, which was the headquarters of a division, but neither they nor the officer commanding the Native cavalry regiment were equal to the emergency. If the outbreak had occurred an hour later, the British soldiers would have been sitting in church without firearms. Both generals had risen by seniority, and the conduct of a younger and selected officer in the Panjab, Major Crawford Chamberlain, was very different. At Multan, a fortress and the chief business town of the district of that name, 4 miles from the Chinab River, there was an officer of thirty-four years' service in command; but he was an invalid, and Chamberlain, commanding the 1st Irregular Cavalry, exercised the control of the station.

There were 50 European artillerymen in the fort; Chamberlain's regiment, all Muhammadans of the Dehli district, a Native troop of Horse artillery, and two battalions of the Bengal army. Chamberlain assembled all the Native officers of the garrison at his house, and suggested that the seniors should give a written guarantee for the fidelity of their men. His own officers rose as one man, with their signet rings. The artillery commanding officer asserted that his men would fire on anyone as he might order, but the infantry officers alleged they were unable to answer for their men. A captain in a battalion plotted next day to murder Chamberlain and his family, and nightly the infantry tried to win over his men. But he discovered the plot and his men frustrated it. It was entirely owing to Chamberlain's personal influence that a mutiny at Multan was averted; and it is by such influence we have won, and by such influence alone that we can retain, the fidelity of the millions of Great Britain's peoples beyond the seas.

Major Chamberlain now determined to disarm the infantry, and Sir John Lawrence sent him the 2nd Panjabis from Dera Ghazi Khan, on the Indus, 40 miles west of Multan. Simultaneously with their arrival came the 1st Panjab Cavalry from Asni, 85 miles south of Multan, brought without orders by Major Hughes, who had heard of the impending outbreak. On the morning after their arrival a parade was held at day-break and attended by the British gunners. Hughes had detailed a specially selected detachment of Sikhs, under Lieutenant John Watson (now General Sir John Watson, V.C., G.C.B.), to cut down the Native gunners if they refused to obey orders to open fire; and Chamberlain placed the Panjab infantry between the two mutinous battalions. Having explained his decision,

he gave the order, "Pile arms." With some slight hesitation, till an adjutant knocked down a Sipahi who had shouted to the men to fight, the battalions obeyed, and were marched back to barracks unarmed, while the cavalry saw the muskets removed to the fort.

Although the seniors at Meerut were supine, there were many young officers of energy and determination in the garrison. On May 10 Lieutenant Hugh Gough (now General Sir Hugh Gough, V.C., G.C.B.), 3rd Native Cavalry, told his commanding officer and the Brigadier-General that the regiment was about to mutiny, and rescue their comrades in jail. He was informed he should not listen to such silly stories. Next evening a Native officer, who had given him the information, rode up with 2 troopers to Gough's bungalow with the news that the infantry were firing on their white officers. Gough, with the 3 men, rode to the cavalry lines, where the Sipahis called to his escort to stand clear that they might shoot the Sahib. As the escort did not move, they fired, but ineffectually, at the group. Gough then went to his regimental lines, where all the men were busy, some removing ammunition from the magazine, which they had broken open, and others saddling their horses. He tried to restore order; but, after a few shots fired at him by recruits, the Native officers, anxious for his life, forced him to leave. On his way to the European lines he met an armed rabble coming out of the Bazaar. Some of them tried to stop him, but he charged through the mob, closely followed by his escort, who saw him safe to the artillery mess. Here, in spite of Gough's arguments, they left him with a respectful salute, saying that they could not separate themselves from comrades and relatives.



MAJOR LIGHT (NOW GENERAL LYTE), BENGAL HORSE ARTILLERY

Lieutenant Alfred Light (now General Lyte), whose 18-pound guns a fortnight later contributed materially to General Wilson's victories on the Hindan River, and whose battery again at Badli-ki-Serai, on June 18, bore for some time the brunt of the enemy's fire, was a tall and powerfully built officer, in the prime of manhood.⁷ He commanded the *Depôt Bengal Artillery*, and during the night of the 10th he went with 6 European gunners to take over the magazines from the *Sipahi* guards, and to disarm them. The sergeant, on being called, came out of the chief magazine, but absolutely refused to obey the order to give over his charge. Light put his hand on the man's shoulder, and said, "You must do so," but the guard called out to him to resist. The sergeant then stepped back two paces, and resting his carbine on the hip, fired with the muzzle almost touching the officer's body. The bullet missed its objective, and Light knocked the man down, and fell with him. As the Saxon and the Asiatic grappled in death-dealing embrace, the Whites and Blacks fired over their prostrate forms. Some of the Native guard had been killed, and the others had fled, before Light arose from the ground, where the sergeant lay still for ever with a battered skull.

The inability of our officers to read the signs of the times was remarkable. During the exasperating punishment parade, which, owing to the difficulty of riveting iron fetters on the ankles of 85 men, lasted for many hours on the 9th May, 400 British artillerymen, mainly recruits, had only blank cartridge for their carbines, although they stood between two Bengal battalions carrying ball ammunition.

When the Europeans were paraded on the evening of the 10th they had to wait for ball ammunition, and one hour elapsed before the infantry were ready to

march. All this want of preparation existed in spite of the fact that for three months indications of unrest in the Native army had been plainly evident. The British garrison consisted of a cavalry regiment, 2 batteries, and a company of artillery ; but no adequate steps were taken to avert the outbreak, or to prevent the mutineers from seizing Dehli and its great military magazine. The absence of thorough concert amongst the mutineers is indicated by the fact that some of the guards stood stanch, and handed over their trust to a European guard. This remarkable difference was probably caused to some extent by the officers having more influence over the men in some regiments than they had in other corps. In later outbreaks the mutineers generally seized the Treasury as a first step. In Meerut not only was the 11th Bengal Infantry inactive, but a subahdar's guard posted over some specie stood stanch throughout the night May 10-11, and next morning the Native captain gravely reported: "All correct" (Sab accha). He and his guard remained loyal, and it was still serving intact when Mr. Commissioner Ricketts saw it at Moradabad, in June 1858. It had given a striking proof of its discipline on the previous 30th April. The guard was marching in rear of a column in Rohilkhand, having charge of a number of mutinous prisoners who were to be tried on a capital charge, when the head of the column fell into an ambush, and the general was killed. The Native prisoners became troublesome, so the subahdar shot them, and then took his men forward at the double, towards the sound of the firing.

With regrettable supineness amongst senior officers, there were bright instances of devotion to duty at Meerut. With the help of Lieutenant Melville Clarke,

Captain Craigie, who a fortnight earlier had written protesting against the issue of the cartridges, kept a troop to its duty all that eventful night. Although they arrived too late to prevent the jail being broken open, their men gave many proofs of heroic fidelity under their courageous and sympathetic leaders, who in a blazing cantonment, overrun by troopers intent on destruction of Europeans, "handled the troop as if mutiny were a crime unknown."

A month after the outbreak at Meerut, Major J. Macdonald, commanding the 5th Irregular Cavalry at Rohni, an isolated station 300 miles north-west of Calcutta, evinced marvellous moral and physical courage in extraordinary circumstances, and succeeded in averting an outbreak. He was sitting at tea on June 19 outside his bungalow with Lieutenant Sir Norman Leslie, the Adjutant, and Assistant-Surgeon N. G. Grant, when 3 Natives rushed on them with drawn swords. Leslie was cut down, the other two badly wounded as they fought with their chairs for life, when suddenly the Natives fled. A trooper later confessed that the assailants were his disguised comrades. Macdonald tried them by court-martial, and confirmed the death-sentences. Many writers have attributed the increase of indiscipline in the Native army to the evil effects of centralisation in curtailing the powers of commanding officers. Even General Hearsey did not venture to hang the jemadar who had abetted Mangal Pandi's murderous attack on the adjutant until the Commander-in-Chief had approved the sentence. Thus the 5th Cavalry expected no immediate result from the court-martial; but they were mistaken, for their commanding officer accepted responsibility as fearlessly as he faced 500 mutinous troopers. Macdonald had learnt that the attempted

assassination was part of an organised conspiracy. With three severe wounds in his head, from which the scalp had been sliced, he paraded the regiment with the prisoners in front, and himself looped the hangman's ropes and adjusted them. One prisoner called on his comrades, in the name of the Prophet, to rescue him, till Macdonald silenced him by pressing a pistol to his ear, with a threat of scattering his brains. Three times the elephant with his burden moved on, and three times a mutinous trooper was left dangling before the eyes of his guilty comrades.

CHAPTER II

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HINDUSTANI SOLDIER—BENARES

THE outbreak of the mutiny at Meerut (Mirath) was begun by the 3rd Cavalry Regiment, in which a great majority of the men, as in the other 23 regiments recruited in Bengal, were Muhammadans. In the 74 battalions, mainly recruited in Oudh and on its borders, of which 6 only remained stanch, the Muhammadans numbered approximately 1 to 6 Hindus.

The men had many grievances, some dating from 1843, when the money allowances, previously given for service outside Hindustan, were refused to battalions sent to Sindh; but all foreign service questions affected infantry more than cavalry. In the former, promotion to the highest rank obtainable, that of captain, was always by seniority in, and from the ranks; a Sipahi had generally sixteen years' service before he became a corporal—sergeants reached that rank after twenty-six years, and Native officers became such in most cases after thirty-five years' service; a lieutenant had frequently to serve fifty years for pension, and the rules had recently been made more stringent in Bengal. An old Native captain was often commanded by the last joined ensign from England, whose carelessness in returning salutes was a source of

irritation. Our ignorance of the Native soldiers' feelings and inner life is shown by the wording of Lord Dalhousie's farewell minute: "Hardly any circumstance of his (the Sipahi's) condition is in need of improvement."

The Court of Directors in London had for many years been urging the adoption of general enlistment for the Bengal army, which the Hindustanis regarded as a great grievance. It was, however, carried out in July 1856, and it caused intense dissatisfaction, being considered a breach of faith; for, though the change in application was restricted to men then enlisting, the Oudh peasants looked on the army as an hereditary possession, in which their fathers had served, and their sons would have served, had such service been compatible with strict maintenance of Caste. This, however, became an insuperable difficulty on long voyages.

The Hindustani soldier had many admirable qualities, and under good and sympathetic officers became imbued with a fine sense of Regimental pride. In 1764 at a punishment parade 24 soldiers were about to be blown away from guns for mutiny, when 4 Grenadiers claimed and obtained the precedence in death which their company had exercised in life. Though credulous and sometimes absurdly suspicious, Sipahis when rightly handled have evinced a chivalry grand beyond words. Macaulay shows, in his narrative of the siege of Arcot in 1751, the heroic self-sacrifice of which the Hindustani soldier is capable when commanded by a man like Clive. For 50 days this young Civil servant of the East India Company held the fort, with its ditches dry in places and its ramparts in bad repair, against Rajah Sahib's army of 10,000 men. The garrison suffered many casualties, and was re-

duced to 120 Europeans and 200 Natives. Clive and his men, disregarding the threat of extermination, refused every summons to surrender, and finally repulsed an assault, which cost Rajah Sahib 400 men, and induced him to raise the siege. Before this final attack was delivered, the food supplies of the garrison began to fail, and the Sipahis then petitioned that all grain should be reserved for the Europeans, alleging that the water in which their rice was boiled would be a sufficient ration for an Asiatic.

Individually the Hindustani is brave, and does not hesitate to engage a European in single combat; but collectively, probably from want of confidence in his leaders or comrades, he will seldom meet his foe in serried line with sword or bayonet. I have seen 2000 Native cavalry rebels, formed in line, ridden through and put to flight by a squadron of the 17th Lancers.

On June 23, 1857, the mutinous battalions, which for seventeen days, under the command of Nana Sahib, had besieged the handful of Europeans in the Cawnpur cantonment, proposed to mark the centenary of Plassey by an assault. Lieutenant Mowbray Thompson, who with 16 men held an unfinished building, the key of the British position, sent to Captain Moore, who was the executive commander of the garrison, a message stating that there were large numbers of the enemy collecting under an adjacent wall, and begged for a reinforcement. Moore had been badly wounded in the arm; but he walked over to the post, and, explaining that there were no men available, ran outside the building with Thompson, shouting, "No. 1 Company advance!" upon which all the Sipahis fled. That the mutineers were aware of this weakness in their leaders is apparent in a petition received by Jang Bahadur in February 1859, from 10,000 Sipahis

he had ordered to leave Nepal, where they had taken refuge, within ten days. The petitioners asked for the help of a military force to fight the British troops, and, if it could not be given, that a Gurkha officer might be lent to command each Hindustani battalion.

On the other hand, on November 16, 1857, when the troops under Sir Colin Campbell stormed the Sikandarbagh at Lucknow, they were momentarily stopped by rebels, who were selling their lives dearly from within a gate-house, and were closing the massive doors as Private Mukurrab Khan of the 4th Panjab Infantry arrived. Thrusting the shield on his left arm between the doors, he kept them apart. His left hand was immediately badly slashed; but, as he withdrew it, he put in his right, and although it was nearly severed at the wrist, held the door open, till his comrades, throwing in their weight, forced the doors apart and slew every man inside. Such were the men who hastened from Meerut to Dehli, and proclaimed the restoration of the Mughul Empire.

THE DEHLI (DILLI) MASSACRES

In 1804 Lord Lake defeated the Marathas under the walls of Dehli, and released from confinement Shah Allum (literally "Emperor of the World"), who was their nominal lord, though a prisoner. Lord Wellesley, Governor-General, re-established him in the Palace, as a puppet king, with an income which in 1857 had risen to £150,000. His superscription remained on the current coin of India until 1835, and we paid tribute and homage to his successor as his feudatory until 1843, when Lord Ellenborough, learning accidentally that the annual custom had just been

carried out, peremptorily stopped the practice. This was resented, but Shah Bahadur was too effete, and his Court too deeply engrossed in animal pleasures, to do more than protest. If Shah Bahadur felt the loss of nominal kingship, he profited greatly from British protection in a material point of view, and was fortunate in comparison with his grandfather, whom the Marathas imprisoned, and deprived of kingdom, and eyesight.

In 1857 the King of Dehli, who still exercised despotic authority over the 12,000 retainers who lived in his Palace, was over eighty years of age, and the name was his main value to the disaffected Hindu conspirators. Having no recognised head, on May 11 May 11 they converted a Mutiny into a Revolt by playing on ¹⁸⁵⁷ the veneration felt by a conservative race for a Monarch. With the news from Dehli that all the English there had fallen, nearly every district in the North-West rose. The material advantages accruing to the rebels were great, for the largest arsenal in the north of India was in the city.

Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, the Joint Magistrate at Dehli, a fine strongly built man, having previously sent his child to Simla, was proceeding to Kashmir on six months' sick leave from May 11. When he drove from Metcalfe House to his office, to hand over the papers to his successor, he saw the telegram announcing the mutiny at Meerut, and from the office window, which overlooked the bridge of boats over the Jamnah, he saw the mutinous cavalry regiment approaching the city. He galloped his horse to the magazine, warned Captain Willoughby, and then hurried on to the Calcutta Gate, where he met Mr. Simon Fraser, the Commissioner, Captain Douglas, of the Palace Guards, and Mr. Hutchinson, the Collector. They had

caused the Gate to be closed and barricaded, when in a few minutes the mutineers appeared; failing in their efforts to force open the Gate, they rode along the sandy slopes of the river, as far as the Palace enclosure, into which they were admitted. The Commissioner sent Sir Theophilus to close the Water Gate in the Palace wall, in order to bar the road into the city, but when half-way he met a number of the 3rd Cavalry mutineers, galloping out of the main Palace Gate, in front of which there was a dense crowd of Natives in holiday attire, evidently assembled to see some unusual spectacle.

Some of the troopers rode at the buggy slashing at Metcalfe, and his horse, but succeeded only in cutting the hood of the carriage, as the Magistrate drove at speed into the crowd of spectators. Metcalfe, in order to escape from the pursuing troopers, jumped down from the carriage and elbowed his way through the crowd towards a troop of Mounted police, ordinarily his obedient servants. He ordered the officer in command to charge, but not a man moved, so Metcalfe, knocking the officer out of the saddle, mounted the horse, and galloped to the police office.

After the Commissioner had sent the Magistrate away, some mutinous troopers arrived at the Calcutta Gate followed by a crowd of Natives. Mr. Fraser attempted to reason with the mutineers and an enormous rabble till he was fired on. Then, taking a musket from one of the King's guard, he killed the foremost trooper, and as the surging crowd fell back, dashed through it in his buggy. Douglas threw himself into the moat; badly shaken, he was being carried by Natives into the Palace when he met Fraser and Hutchinson, the latter wounded. As Fraser stopped to appease the mob, he was killed by the King's

servants. The crowd followed up to the room where Mr. Jennings the chaplain, his daughter, and a friend were attending to the two stricken men, and cut the whole party into pieces.

Then the soldiers rushed into the city, slaughtering every European and Eurasian they could find. The troopers rode towards the Kashmir Gate, on the direct road to the cantonment, where Brigadier-General Graves commanded 3 Native battalions and a battery. He ordered Colonel Ripley, commanding the 54th Bengal Regiment, with 2 guns, to march to the city to oppose the mutineers. The colonel left 2 companies to escort the guns, which were not ready; and the battalion, just as it passed the main guard held by the 38th Bengal Regiment, met the mutineers and a huge rabble. The troopers killed the mounted officers, while those on foot were bayoneted by their own men in front of the 38th Guard, the men of which laughed at their officer, who ordered them to fire on the murderers. Just then the two companies and guns arrived, and the troopers with the mob, seeing them, retired into the city as the 74th Bengal Regiment, with two more guns, arrived from the cantonment.

Lieutenant Willoughby with 2 officers, 6 European Staff and a large number of Native artisans were inside the magazine enclosure, surrounded by high walls, some 500 yards from the Palace. Willoughby closed, and barricaded the gates, placed 6-pounders to command them and the principal magazine-building gate, in all 10 guns; and a train was laid to the main powder store. The Natives accepted muskets unwillingly, and later, ascending some sloping-roofed buildings, passed down the scaling

ladders raised against the walls, and joined the mutineers.

Repeated orders sent from the Palace to surrender being ignored, a crowd of assailants, composed mainly of the 3rd Cavalry and 20th Bengal Infantry from Meerut, climbed up the walls, and opened fire. The discharge of all the guns, double loaded, cut gaps in the crowd, but more men came on, and after four rounds, Lieutenant Forrest and Conductor Buckley, both being hit in the arm, could no longer load. So Willoughby gave the signal, Conductor Scully fired the train, and hundreds of Sipahis were destroyed. Lieutenants Willoughby and Forrest, blackened and burnt, were blown into the air, but on recovering their senses escaped to the main guard at the Kashmir Gate: Lieutenant Raynor and Conductor Buckley, taking another line, reached Meerut. Lieutenant Willoughby was murdered some days later, with several other fugitives, on the Hindan River.

Major Anderson, 74th Bengal Regiment, having received orders to return to the cantonment with his battalion and the guns, had got a hundred yards beyond the Kashmir Gate when he heard rapid firing behind him, and was told, "It is the 38th killing their officers." He ordered his men to turn back, but they refused, saying, "It is too late; they are all dead by this time; we won't let you go back to be murdered." Having escorted him back to their quarter guard, they cried out, "Pray fly for your life; we cannot protect you any longer."

The 38th, having closed the Kashmir Gate before all the 74th officers had passed out, opened fire on every European they saw. Two officers dropped 30 feet from an embrasure into the ditch; others were about to follow, when some women, who were shelter-

ing in the guardroom, screamed for help. The officers returned, and under a storm of bullets got them away ; knotting handkerchiefs and belts together, they lowered all down into the ditch, and with great difficulty pulled them up the counter scarp on to the glacis. Thence they crept into the jungle, eventually reaching Meerut, after a painful and perilous journey.

In the cantonment some of the 38th, who had not deserted, asked for leave, telling their colonel they would serve no longer. The Brigadier made another attempt to keep the soldiers to their duty, and sounded the assembly, but only one Sipahi paraded. At night-fall all the Europeans left the cantonments, and, after suffering terrible privations, some reached Meerut, others Karnal, 80 miles, and a few got to Ambala, 140 miles distant. The fugitives hid themselves by day and walked by night, and, though frequently robbed and beaten by villagers, they were in some cases kindly received. Captain Holland tells how Jamna Dass, a Brahman, housed and fed him for a week ; and Paltu, a sweeper living near, went daily to other villages to procure milk for the Europeans. There were some of all classes who risked their own lives to succour our unfortunate people.

At sunset on May 11 the surviving 50 Christians in Dehli, adults and children of both sexes, were brought to the Palace and placed in a dungeon. Five days later they were led out into the courtyard and, by order of the King, conveyed by his son, Nuiza Mughal, they were butchered before a crowd of exulting spectators, and their bodies thrown into the Jamnah.

When Sir Theophilus reached his office, which was at the police station, he learnt that his colleagues whom he had left at the Calcutta Gate had been massacred.

He rode from point to point of the city, endeavouring to provide for the safety of Christians, and while thus engaged heard that the Native brigade had arrived from the cantonment at the Kashmir Gate, towards which he rode. As he was passing the Jama Musjid he was hit by a brick thrown from the roof of a house, which striking him on the spine knocked him senseless from the saddle. As soon as he regained consciousness he returned to the office, where he was hidden by the Superintendent of Police until the evening, when with stained feet and dressed as a Native, Metcalfe accompanied by his protector walked through the main street of the city, and out into the country by the Lahor Gate.

The Superintendent of Police conducted Metcalfe to the house of a landowner, who had never before spoken to a European. Bhur Khan, although not willing, nevertheless at the bidding of the Superintendent, who was a friend, agreed to shelter Sir Theophilus Metcalfe. For three days he remained on the roof of Bhur Khan's zenana, and then his host warned him he must leave, as a search party was coming to look for him. That night the Magistrate was conducted to a stone quarry, in which there was a cave with a very small entrance. Bhur Khan gave Metcalfe a sword, pistol, a big jar of water, and some Native bread.

Next day he heard voices, and presently two 3rd Cavalry troopers approached, guided by one of Metcalfe's lieutenants of Orderlies, who was heard saying, "I am sure he is here. Come in with me, through this opening." The troopers dismounted, tied up their horses, and followed their guide, who crept in through the narrow entrance of the cave. Going from the bright daylight, he stood dazed for a moment, unable to see before him, and was run through by Metcalfe, who then, sword and pistol in

hand, charged out against the troopers. They ran, and in opposite directions to the spot where they had tied up their horses, on one of which Sir Theophilus rode off westward. He made for Jhaijhar, a small State 35 miles from Dehli, and claimed hospitality from the Nawab, whose father had been befriended by Metcalfe's father when threatened by the loss of his principality by confiscation. The Nawab had always acknowledged his obligation, but was now too apprehensive of the King of Dehli's vengeance to shelter the son of his father's benefactor, and moreover meanly misappropriated his horse, so Metcalfe rode on a little pony to Hansi, whence on May 24 he reached Karnal, and came back to the Ridge with the British troops. The Nawab's territory has been incorporated into that of Jhind.

THE ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS

Lord Canning, at the Presidency, Sir John Lawrence, in the Panjab, and Mr. Colvin, in the North-West Provinces, met the news of mutiny and murder, which daily became worse, with unflinching courage; but all three heroic Britons failed for some time to appreciate the gravity of the situation, and the inadequacy of the military forces, aggravated as it was by their unfitness to operate outside cantonments, owing to deficiencies in equipment, supply, and transport. Two other great men, equally courageous—Lord Elphinstone, in Bombay, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Bartle Frere, in Sindh—realised at once that our supremacy in India was in the balance. Lord Canning, from Calcutta, 900 miles to the south-west, and Sir John Lawrence, from Rawalpindi, 450 miles north of Dehli, telegraphed and wrote simultaneously to General Anson, the

Commander-in-Chief, to "make short work of Dehli." Anson doubted the wisdom of attacking the city with the few troops then available; but Lawrence affirmed from his experience, based on thirteen years' residence there, that the gates would be opened, and the mutineers would disperse on the arrival of a British force. The Governor-General moreover urged the despatch of Europeans from Dehli to Lucknow, where 600,000 inhabitants and 20,000 disbanded soldiers were dangerously excited.

General Anson hearing at Simla on the evening of the 12th of the outbreak at Dehli, and early on the 13th of the Meerut mutiny, at once moved the three battalions quartered in the Himalayas to Ambala, and efforts were made to collect supplies, camp and hospital equipment, and the transport necessary for moving these essentials. In 1854 the nucleus of transport maintained for emergencies had been sold. In May 1857 the infantry when assembled at Ambala had only 20 rounds of ball ammunition a man, the magazine, guarded by Natives, being at Philur, north of the Satlaj, eight marches off, and the waggons of the Horse artillery at Lodiana, seven marches distant. General Anson, having ordered a column from Meerut to join him one march north of Dehli, moved from Ambala on the 25th, but died of cholera early on May 27. He was succeeded by Major-General Sir Henry Barnard. Although the heat was intense, and the sufferings of the British soldiers were great, yet they reached Alipur, 12 miles north of Dehli, on June 5.

Meanwhile reinforcements were being brought eastward. Lord Canning would not anticipate the mail departure by a special steamer, as Lord Elphinstone urged him to do; but that far-sighted Governor of Bombay engaged transports to convey 2 battalions

expected from Persia to Calcutta, and, chartering two steamers, despatched them to Mauritius. He wrote in strenuous terms to the Governor, Sir George Higginson, who sent all the soldiers the steamers could carry. Elphinstone wrote also to Sir George Grey, who sent from the Cape Colony six battalions to Calcutta and two to Bombay. Moreover, he directed the ships, conveying a China Expeditionary Force then at Cape Town, to call at Calcutta for orders. It happened that its commander, General Ashburnham, having travelled out through Egypt, was staying with Lord Elphinstone when the Meerut news was received. He went to Calcutta to see Lord Canning, who had written to him, as well as to Lord Elgin, our Plenipotentiary with the China Expeditionary Force, urging them to divert it to India.

When Bartle Frere landed at Karachi, on his return from leave of absence spent in England, he heard the Meerut news. Though he had but 2 British battalions and a horse battery in Sindh, with its 2 million inhabitants, he ordered one to Multan, and later on despatched two Baluch battalions to the Panjab, suppressing, mainly with Native police, three outbreaks which occurred in his own province.

Lord Canning, the impersonation of calm courage, irritated the inhabitants of Calcutta. He muzzled not only the Native papers, which was essential, but also the European Press. He ignored the well-founded apprehensions of the inhabitants; he refused at first to accept Volunteers for the defence of the capital—a mistake which he acknowledged later; and he delayed to disarm the Native brigade at Barrackpur, 16 miles distant, which necessitated the retention of Europeans to watch it. This also was an error, but

with only one British battalion between Agra and Calcutta, a distance of 750 miles, it was important to delay mutinies even if they could not be prevented. The difficulties of the situation were aptly expressed by Sir John Lawrence in a letter to Sir H. Edwardes: "Each step we take for our own security is a blow against the Regular Sipahi; he takes a further step, and so we go on, till we disband or destroy them, or they mutiny and kill their officers."

On May 3 Colonel J. Neill and his battalion, the Madras (1st Royal Dublin) Fusiliers, arrived off Calcutta, and were railed to Raniganj, the terminus, 70 miles distant. Some obstructive and insolent railway officials threatened to start the train before the troops were entrained, but Neill, placing a guard over the station-master, driver, and fireman, got the battalion off with but a short delay. Neill was a man of unusual force of character. He had been censured in Burma in 1853 for animadverting on Departmental officers who had failed to supply the troops with blankets and boots; but he referred the question to the Governor-General, and was warmly supported.

BENARES

Benares, India's chief religious city, with 200,000 inhabitants and 1700 temples and mosques, Neill's first objective, was 330 miles from the terminus. The horsed post carts available, with carrying power equal to 20 men, covered the distance in five days; bullock carts carrying 100 men took ten days; steamers were sixteen days on the voyage. All these means of transport were used. Colonel Neill arrived at Benares with 60 of his men on June 4. In the cantonment 30 British gunners had been watching 1 cavalry and 2 infantry

regiments. The fidelity of the 37th Bengal Regiment was known to be untrustworthy; the cavalry was regarded as doubtful; but the Lodiana 15th Sikh Regiment, though it contained many Hindustanis, was supposed to be faithful.

A crisis occurred when Colonel Neill arrived. The 17th Regiment, quartered at Azamgarh, 60 miles to the north, had openly stated that the District treasure-chest should not leave the station. The local Revenue collection of £20,000 had just been augmented by £30,000 brought in from Gorakhpur. When the escort from the 17th, and the 13th Irregular Cavalry marched out with it on June 3 for Benares, the Sipahis rose and, June 1857 having killed the quartermaster and his European sergeant, sent after the treasure. Its cavalry escort declined to fight the mutineers, but they protected their officer, Lieutenant Palliser, seeing him and the 17th Regimental officers safe into Benares. The latter had been escorted 10 miles out of Azamgarh by a company of their own men, who had collected carriages for their use, refusing to allow the mutinous Sipahis to shoot the officers, as some desired to do.

When this news was received at Benares, about 4 p.m. on June 4, during a discussion as to the designs of the 37th Regiment, it was decided to disarm at once all the Native troops, 2000 in number. Major Barrett, 37th Regiment, earnestly protested against the decision. The British troops available were 30 artillerymen, 150 10th (Lincolnshire) Regiment, and 60 Madras (Royal Dublin) Fusiliers. At 5 p.m., the 37th Regiment having paraded, most of the men had already, on the word of command, lodged their muskets in the "Bells of Arms," when the Europeans were seen approaching, and some Sipahis murmured they were to be massacred. As the Brigadier wheeled the

240 Europeans into line at the 37th Regimental guard, he urged it in kind words to obey orders, but just then a few shots fired by men of the regiment caused all but the Light Company to regain their muskets. Then firing on their officers, and the 10th (Lincolnshire) detachment, the Sipahis shot 7 men of it. All the officers ran behind the guns except Major Barrett, who, with the courage of his convictions, refused to leave his trusted men, till a party of them, with a more accurate knowledge of coming events, ran up, and carried him forcibly to one side of the parade. The Europeans now returned the fire, and the 37th fled. At this moment the cavalry and Sikhs arrived, the guns being without escort, as the British infantry had pursued the 37th into their lines. The 13th Irregular Cavalry, as they came on parade, cut down their commanding officer, after he had been fired at and wounded by a 37th Sipahi. When the Station Staff officer, Major Dodgson, took his place, he was attacked by two troopers. The Sikhs, seeing the mutinous state of the cavalry, hesitated. Some fired on the horsemen. Many had come on parade with loaded muskets, and one fired at his commanding officer, while another rushed forward to shield him.

Captain Olpherts, Bengal Artillery, had just limbered up his guns to go back to barracks, when the Sikhs, shouting, began to fire in all directions. His subaltern called out, "The Sikhs have mutinied!" and as the guns unlimbered there was another cry, "The Sikhs are going to charge!" So the guns reopened with case-shot at 100 yards distance, and, though three rushes were made towards the battery, the Sikhs were repulsed, they and the cavalry dispersing. There are many officers who believe that the bulk of the Sikhs were loyal and meant to pass through the battery and

defend it, for some of their officers were already with it.

The Brigadier, who was ill, now resigned the command to Neill, to whom all the summary justice meted out under martial law to rebels at Benares has been attributed. This is incorrect, for he remained only five days at the station, leaving before the executions took place. He was later known as "Neill, the Avenger." His unusual methods of punishment were induced by the current stories of sexual outrage and of the mutilation of our murdered women and children. These stories were, however, later conclusively disproved ; but Neill's actions were based on a deep sense of duty, and were intended to prevent any such crimes being perpetrated.

When the firing in the Native lines was heard, most of the Christian non-combatants assembled by previous arrangement at the Mint, and others at the Court-house. It was now apprehended that the guard of the Treasury, a detachment of the Lodiana Sikhs battalion, would, in revenge for their slain comrades, slaughter the Europeans and seize the treasure. This they would have done but for the exertions of one of the chiefs of their nation, Sirdar Surat Singh, who, since the second Sikh war, had lived as a prisoner on parole at Benares, and had great esteem for Mr. Gubbins, the local Judge, who was the moving spirit of the Station. The Sirdar, carrying a double-barrelled gun, accompanied the Judge to the detachment and persuaded the men to hand over the specie and the Sikh crown jewels, which were in the Treasury, to a European guard. Next morning the Sikhs received a gratuity of £1000 for their loyal conduct. On the other hand, when a detachment of the battalion at Jaunpur, 40 miles north-west of the city, heard that its head-

June 4
1857

quarters had been fired on, the men shot their officer and the station magistrate, and plundered the Treasury. The district rose in rebellion, and all authority was swept away. Surat Singh was not the only important noble influenced by Mr. Gubbins. Gokal Chand, one of the most highly respected Brahmans in Benares, an official of the Judge's Court, and other powerful and independent Hindus, worked vigorously for the British cause in the days of our humiliation and distress.

CHAPTER III

THE PANJAB (*Panj* five, *Ab* rivers) AND THE NORTH-
WEST PROVINCES — MIAN-MIR — PESHAWAR
— MARDAN — GHAZI - UD - DIN — ALIGARH —
ROHILKHAND — ALLAHABAD — BADLI-KI-
SERAI

WHEN Lord Dalhousie annexed the land of the Five Rivers (*Panj-Ab*) in 1849, Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed President, and his younger brother John (later Lord) Lawrence a member of the Board of Administration, which in five years reconstructed the State, bringing order out of chaos, and law out of anarchy. The land tax was reduced by 25 per cent.; and the old feudal system was abolished, the land occupiers dealing directly with the Government, though grants of land for military services were left undisturbed.

Sir Henry and John Lawrence, the mainsprings of these blessings to the people, were great men in every sense of the word, and as fearless as their father, Major Lawrence, who volunteered for the storming party at Seringapatam in 1799, and was severely wounded and left for many hours as dead in the breach where he fell. His sons, Henry and John, held such antagonistic views that harmonious work was impossible; but Lord Dalhousie considered that however disagreeable the association might be to

the brothers, the result was good for the public service.

The Governor-General had an intense admiration for John Lawrence, to whom five months before vacating the Government he wrote: "Of all from whom I part in India, there is not one from whom I shall sever myself with greater regret than from yourself, my dear John." Nevertheless, it is probable that Dalhousie already realised, what partisans of both Lawrences now willingly admit, that the brothers, different as they appeared to be in character, had many traits in common and were absolutely alike in their deep sense of duty, and love of the peoples under their control. The chivalrous, sensitive mind of Henry enabled him, on receipt at Lucknow of the news of the outbreak at Meerut, to gauge accurately its effects on the Bengal army and to forecast the result. John, although a much more methodical ruler, with all his magnanimous greatness of mind, could not understand the feelings of the Natives. Discussing, on January 9, 1856, the Oudh decision, then daily expected from London, he wrote: "I hope for Annexation, anything short of it is a mistake. *Will not all the people rejoice, except the fiddlers, barbers, and that genus.*" Two and a half years later General Sir Hope Grant, when stamping out the embers of the Mutiny after an engagement with Oudh yeomen and peasants, reported: "I have seen many battles in India and many brave men fighting with a determination to conquer or die, but I never witnessed anything more magnificent than the conduct of these Zamindars." Mr. (later Sir) Richard Temple has pithily summed up the salient characteristics of the Lawrences: "Sir Henry would, if unfettered, have had a bankrupt State; John would, if acting alone, have had a full treasury but a rebellious country." Never-

theless, from this epigrammatic opinion a deduction must be made, for John's advice to his Assistants in districts always began, "Assess low at first;" and Henry, although generous, was a careful administrator. If there had been more of his type, although there might have been a Sipahi mutiny, there would have been no revolt in Hindustan. In 1853 their conflicting opinions arrested progress, and both brothers asked Lord Dalhousie to move either one or the other. Lord Dalhousie naturally retained the man who supported his views, and was possibly, moreover, the better fitted to carry out the administrative reforms remaining to be effected; and Sir Henry, to his great mortification, had to leave the scene of his labours. He was sent to administer Rajputana, a country as big as Belgium and the Netherlands; and John, who on the abolition of the Board of Administration ruled alone as Chief Commissioner, in time assimilated many of his elder brother's views, and acted to a great extent as he would have wished. Though both were public servants of the highest class, no comparison of their merits would, if possible, be desirable; but it is probable that an expression once used by John to Sir Henry Daly was accurate: "Henry had a stronger grip on men than I ever had."

MIAN-MIR

When the Mutiny broke out at Meerut, there were 8 British battalions and some artillery stationed between Ambala and Peshawar, 500 miles apart. Generally a station had 1 White and from 3 to 4 Native regiments; but there were 3 British battalions at Peshawar and Naushara, reduced, however, by sickness to 1000 bayonets. In the North of

India the Establishments numbered 23,000 Europeans, 18,300 being fit for duty. The 100,000 Natives were practically all effective.

The first crisis in the Panjab occurred at Mian-Mir, a cantonment 5 miles from Lahor the capital, with its 100,000 inhabitants. Mr. (later Sir) Robert Montgomery was acting for the Commissioner, who, having started for the hills to regain his health, was lying ill in bed at Rawalpindi. Brigadier-General Corbett commanded the garrison, consisting of 2 batteries of artillery; the 81st (2nd North Lancashire) Regiment, 3 Sipahi battalions, and a Native cavalry regiment. Montgomery communicated the bad news about Dehli to Corbett on the 12th, and the calculated audacity of their plans was marvellously successful. A ball was given that night as previously arranged, and at daylight the garrison was paraded before the Native soldiers learnt that their mutinous intentions were suspected. The 81st (2nd North Lancashire) Regiment, which had only 5 companies on parade, numbering 250 rifles, stood next to the artillery; then 3 Native battalions, all in quarter-column, and the cavalry on their left. The Government decree disbanding the 34th Bengal Regiment at Barrackpur was read in front of each corps, and the Native troops were then ordered to change front to the rear, while the British corps changed front to the left, on their own ground. The batteries loaded with case-shot, as the 81st retired on either side of the guns, and facing the flank of the Natives, while a fluent interpreter read to them the decision that they were to be disarmed. The general then commanded the Natives to pile arms, as Colonel Renny ordered "81st, with ball cartridge—load." There was a momentary hesitation, but the ring of the ramrods and the sight of 12 guns and gunners,

with lighted port-fires, induced obedience; and the 81st placed 2000 rifles and 500 swords in empty carts, which had been brought up and were in readiness, as the Sipahis returned to their lines. While the parade was being held, 3 companies of the 81st Regiment were marching to the fort in the city, where they disarmed the garrison, consisting of a Native half-battalion; and thus within two hours of daylight the capital was secured.

Amritsar, the spiritual centre of the Sikhs, 30 miles distant, was overlooked by the Fort Govindgarh, which had been held by Sipahis and a few British artillerymen. A British Horse battery was now moved from the cantonment into the fort. General Corbett, May 14
1857 learning that the disarmed Mian - Mir Sipahis were marching on Govindgarh, sent in carts a company of the 81st Regiment, which secured the fort at daylight on May 14.

At Firuzpur and Philur there were large magazines and equipment stores. The former was garrisoned by a British battalion, and a company of artillery, 2 Native battalions, and the 10th Cavalry Regiment, which was then stanch. But the officer in command was not like General Corbett; and, though the magazine was saved, the disarming of the infantry was attempted in a half-hearted fashion, so that, when one of the battalions dispersed, its main losses were due to the Native cavalry, which, led by Major Marsden, Deputy-Commissioner, pursued it for 12 miles, killing a number of men, and breaking up the corps. The large arsenal at Philur was held by Natives, but a detachment from a British battalion at Jalandhar, 24 miles distant, occupied the fort, before any disturbance occurred.

PESHAWAR

When the Dehli news reached Peshawar, on May 12, it happened that the Civil and Military chiefs were leaders of men. This was fortunate, for the situation was perilous. Dost Muhammad, Amir of Afghanistan, greatly coveted his old possessions in the Peshawar Valley, and it was doubtful if he could disregard the warlike appeals of his chiefs, and adhere loyally to the arrangements recently made. General Cotton, though sixty years of age, was strong, determined, and active; his Civilian colleagues, Colonel Herbert Edwardes, the Commissioner, and his Assistant, Major John Nicholson, themselves of the highest class, and trained under the two Lawrences, believed in the general. They invited Neville Chamberlain, commandant of the Panjab Irregular Force, to ride over from Kohat for a conference; and the result was that General Reed, commanding the division, formed a movable column to interpose when necessary between disaffected garrisons. The command was given to Chamberlain, and he soon justified the selection. He was a thorough soldier in the prime of life, who as a youth had been more often wounded in personal combats during campaigns in Afghanistan and the Panjab than any other man. General Reed personally joined John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner at Rawalpindi, having first ordered half of the 55th, a suspected Bengal regiment at Naushara, 30 miles from Peshawar, to exchange stations with the Guides at Mardan, 15 miles north of that place. Colonel Edwardes was authorised to raise 1000 Multani Horse; and General Cotton moved the Bengal and British forces, so that the Native battalions were separated. Edwardes went to Pindi to see John Lawrence, to whom the crisis had im-

parted renewed strength. He now authorised doubling the levy of Multani Horse, and sanctioned the enlistment of 2000 Multani infantry.

Major Nicholson meanwhile had £240,000 moved from different stations into the fort at Peshawar; but the chiefs in the valley would not bring in their tribesmen, a friendly old Afghan saying bluntly, "You must depend on yourselves for this crisis." When Edwardes returned to Peshawar from Rawalpindi on May 21, the gravity of the situation had deepened. That night he and Nicholson slept ready dressed in the same house, and they were awakened at midnight by a messenger with the news that the half-battalion of the 55th Bengal Regiment had mutinied. This half-battalion alone held Naushara, the 27th (1st Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers) Regiment and the Guides having moved southwards. Edwardes and Nicholson immediately urged General Cotton to disarm all the Sipahis at Peshawar except the 21st Bengal Infantry, which was supposed to be faithful. The commanding officers summoned to the conference vehemently protested their men's loyalty. One urged that soothing speeches should be made, while the other predicted that his men, if ordered to lay down their arms, would attack the batteries. Cotton closed the discussion by saying, "You will obey my orders;" and soon after daylight, overawed by the British troops, the Natives loaded their muskets and sabres into artillery waggons brought up for the purpose. The British officers resented the disarming, and the cavalry officers threw their swords and spurs in with those of their men. Before midday the news was known throughout the immediate neighbourhood, and the tribesmen, appreciating decisive rule, crowded in with offers for service in the new levies.

May 21
1857

MARDAN

That evening a mixed force of British, Irregular Cavalry, and Multani Horse marched on Mardan, where the mutinous 55th Sipahis had gone from Naushara, some without orders, others peaceably under the command of a British officer. John Lawrence had sent back from Rawalpindi half the 27th Inniskillings, and Vaughan's Panjabis under Colonel Chute, and they also were moving on Mardan. The colonel of the 55th had implicit confidence in his men, and had implored General Cotton to trust them. He believed in the Hindustanis, although the Sikhs in the regiment (200 in number) had warned him of their disloyalty, and had offered to fight them. During the night of May 24 his Native officers questioned him about the troops reported to be coming from Peshawar. He could not satisfy them, and when they left the room he committed suicide. Next morning, when Colonel Chute's column came in sight, the battalion, except 120 men who remained with the officers, marched off with their Colours, ammunition, and all the treasure they could seize, towards Sawad. They had got beyond the reach of British infantry before the two columns arrived. Nicholson, with Mounted police, followed the trail until the sun went down, killing 120 of them, many with his own hand. He took 150 prisoners, and regained the Colours.

A week earlier 12 deserters from the 51st Bengal Infantry, who had been captured, were hanged on a general parade, and now some of the prisoners of the misguided 55th Bengalis were to suffer death. The stern Major Nicholson, who had taken them prisoners in his unrelenting pursuit of the battalion, pleaded that mercy might be shown to recruits and to all Sikhs

who, as the officers testified, were loyal and subordinate until the last moment, when they were infected by the contagion of mutiny. The men had not raised a hand against their officers until they were pursued, and John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner, deprecated putting to death all the 120, who out of the 150 had been sentenced to the extreme penalty. He suggested to the Commissioner of Peshawar that the execution of 40 of the oldest and worst behaved soldiers would satisfy the claims of justice, and Major Herbert Edwardes followed this suggestion.

At sunrise on June 10 the garrison paraded, the guns in one long line, the cavalry and infantry formed on either flank. As the Brigadier rode on to the ground, he received a salute from one of the batteries, and then rode round the ranks. The fettered prisoners were brought up and their sentences read out, in presence of thousands of the Border men, who had assembled to witness the execution. Then the 40 Sipahis were lashed across the guns, and on the word of command, "Fire," were blown into pieces. The garrison, including the disarmed battalions, marched past the general on their way back to their lines. The neighbouring hillmen, already impressed by the disarming parade of May 24, were now convinced that the White men were still supreme, and crowded into the cantonments with offers of service.

June 10
1857

The fate of 400 Sipahis who had got into Sawad was even worse. Some were compulsorily made Muhammadans, with the attendant rites, others were sold as slaves. Some months later, 200, after suffering terrible privations, were brought in by the clansmen and executed, their only request being for death at the cannon's mouth instead of hanging. At the end of May Major Nicholson disarmed the 64th Bengal

Regiment, leaving the fate of 3 Irregular cavalry regiments for decision till the fall of Dehli, then daily expected.

GHAZI-UD-DIN AND ALIGARH

It will be remembered that the Ambala column had reached Alipur, 12 miles north of Dehli, on June 5, where it was to join hands with the troops from Meerut, who had left their cantonment on the night of May 27-28. Its strength was 2 squadrons of the Carabiniers, half a battalion King's Royal Rifle Corps, 2 batteries, and two 18-pounders, with a company of Siege artillery, the whole under command of Brigadier-General Wilson. Early on May 30 the small force was encamped at Ghazi-ud-Din, on the river Hindan, 10 miles east of Dehli, when it was attacked by the rebels. After a cannonade, our batteries crossing the river, enfiladed and silenced the rebels' artillery, and, the Rifles attacking with great dash, drove the enemy back, capturing 2 heavy guns. A determined Sipahí, by firing his musket into an ammunition waggon, took his own life as well as those of Captain Andrews and 4 riflemen, who were all killed by the explosion.

May 30
1857

At noon next day the attack was renewed, and after an artillery duel of two hours, the British advanced and pushed the rebels back from their position. They, however, retired in good order, for owing to the heat our men were unable to pursue them, there being 10 fatal cases of sunstroke. We lost 4 officers and 50 men, but took 5 guns, and killed a considerable number of the enemy, the road being strewn with bodies, 23 lying together in one ditch, victims of the Enfield rifle. The Sipahis carried the smooth-bore musket, which accounts for the discrepancy in the number of casualties.

Next day Major Reid's Gurkha battalion arrived from Bulandshah, and the column, crossing the Jamnah at Baghpat, joined the Ambala troops on June 7 at Alipur, where a Siege train of 28 pieces, made up at Philur, had arrived the previous day, after a march of almost incredible peril. It was escorted by the 3rd Bengal Regiment, which had already agreed with the other battalions, the 33rd and 36th, to rise when they reached Philur, as it did a few days later. Two hours after the train had crossed the Satlaj, the bridge of boats was swept away in a rush of waters from Kashmir, and, the Rajah of Nabha having furnished an escort, the 3rd Bengalis were sent back to Philur.

While our troops were concentrating at Ambala the Native garrisons of stations south of Dehli were rising. At Aligarh, 80 miles to the south, a Brahman, apprehended on May 20 for conspiring with soldiers to kill their British officers and to seize £70,000 in the Treasury, was tried by court-martial of Native officers and hanged the same evening on parade. As the body swung lifeless, a Sipahi, stepping out from the ranks, cried, "Behold a martyr for our religion!" and the half-battalion, dismissing their British officers, plundered the Treasury, and marched to Dehli.

May 20
1857

THE ROHILKHAND DISTRICT

By the end of the first week in June British authority had disappeared from the greater part of Rohilkhand (colonised by the Rohillas, an Afghan tribe, in the early part of the eighteenth century). Bahadur Khan, who enjoyed a double pension as heir of the last independent ruler, and also as a Civil servant of the East India Company, proclaimed himself as the Emperor's Viceroy. At Bareilly, the chief town of the

district, the garrison consisted of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, 2 battalions, and a battery. The Native cavalry officers were men of good family, who joined the British in sports; and the regiment had a fine record, for when five years earlier a Bengal battalion had refused to embark for Pegu, the cavalry volunteering for the duty marched 1000 miles to the port of embarkation without an absentee. When it became known at Bareilly that the infantry meditated mutiny, the battery was encamped near the cavalry regiment, and its parade ground was named as the alarm post of the Europeans and Eurasians, about 100 in number. The Native regimental sergeant-major reported on May 29 that the infantry had, while bathing, agreed to kill their white officers at 2 p.m.; but the cavalry parading remained mounted for two hours, and apparently caused the mutiny to be postponed. That evening, however, it became known that the cavalry had sworn not to act against the infantry, but that they would not harm their own officers. At 11 a.m. on Sunday, May 31, the day originally fixed for the mutiny throughout Bengal, some infantry soldiers fired grape-shot from the battery, which, to conciliate the Sipahis, had been moved back to their lines; and parties went round to every house in the cantonment to kill the occupants, the Brigadier and several officers being killed on their way to the alarm post.

May 31
1857

Captain Mackenzie, acting commandant of the cavalry regiment, had served many years in it. He was on parade as the guns were fired, and had formed up the right wing, when perceiving some delay in the left wing he rode to it. Meanwhile the Europeans were hastening to the cavalry lines, under fire from the guns and the mutinous infantry. While Mackenzie was forming up the left wing, his right wing followed

the officers and civilians, who were making off on the road to Naini Tal, 66 miles distant, where the European families had been sent a fortnight earlier. Captain Mackenzie urgently begged the senior officer to allow him to return and secure the guns, which request, though regarded as hopeless, was approved. While he was obtaining sanction, the senior Native officer, who had been gained over by Bahadur Khan, moved the left wing towards the cantonment; but Mackenzie, telling the right wing that he meant to capture the guns, moved it back to the parade ground, where the left wing had joined the mutineers. Halting the right wing, Mackenzie went to the left troops and induced them to say that they would follow him; but a green flag, hoisted by a Sipahi, who called to them to stand up for religion, arrested the movement. Galloping to the right wing, Mackenzie found all but one troop had deserted, and before he got half a mile on the Naini Tal road his followers had dropped to 12 officers and 11 of other ranks.

SHAH-JAHANPUR

While these events were occurring at the chief town of the district, similar outrages were being perpetrated at Shah-jahanpur, 50 miles to the south-east. The Europeans were at divine service on the 31st, when punctually at 11 a.m., as at Bareilly, some Sipahis (28th Regiment), having mutinied, rushed to the church. The chaplain, on hearing the noise, went to the door, where his hand was cut off, and the magistrate standing next to him was killed. The officers inside had barricaded the chancel door, placing the ladies in the turret, when Captain Sneyd arrived with a shot gun, and the mutineers, who had swords only, dispersed.

May 31
1857

When the church door was opened, the Native servants had arrived with their masters' rifles and carriages, and presently 100 Sipahis, mainly Sikhs, came up to defend their officers. Some 25 people who stayed in the church were saved for the time; but all were butchered six days later near Sitapur, by an escort which had solemnly sworn to spare them. The ladies and children, kneeling down under a tree in prayer, met death undauntedly. One officer, who rushed away, was saved by a Sipahi who knew him; calling out, "Throw down your pistol!" he collected some friendly comrades to stand around him.

ALLAHABAD

Allahabad, a city of 72,000 inhabitants, at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamnah, 70 miles west of Benares, was the scene of the next outbreak. This was originated by the 6th, one of the most trusted battalions in the Bengal army. Just before they murdered their officers a telegram was read out to the men on evening parade on June 6, conveying the Government's warm appreciation of their loyal offer to march against the rebels at Dehli. The remainder of the garrison consisted of 60 British Artillery invalids, 2 troops of Oudh Irregular Cavalry, and a half-battalion Firuzpur Sikhs. The non-combatants were in the fort held by the invalids, a company of the 6th, and the Sikhs. On hearing the Benares news by telegraph, Colonel Simpson had placed 2 guns to command the bridge of boats crossing the Jamnah, and a detachment of Irregulars between it and the cantonment. When going to mess the fort adjutant induced the colonel to recall the guns, as being more useful in the fort.

There was an unusually large number of officers at dinner, 8 ensigns posted for duty with the 6th having just arrived from England. Since the bad news had been received from Dehli, three weeks earlier, there had never been so little excitement, till at 9 o'clock the alarm bugle was sounded. When the order was received at the bridge for the guns to return to the fort, the 6th detachment escort forbade the movement. There was bright moonlight, and Lieutenant Harward, its commander, ran to the detachment of Oudh Irregulars for help. Lieutenant Alexander saddled up, and, mounting Harward on a spare horse, they rode to the guns they could hear moving on the cantonment road. Alexander gave the order to charge; but, followed by Harward and 3 troopers only, he was shot dead as he raised his arm to strike, his head and face being slashed by sword cuts. A few faithful troopers brought his body to the fort; Harward escaped.

Colonel Simpson was walking home from mess when hearing the alarm bugle, he hurried to the stable, and, mounting his horse, rode quickly to the parade ground, where he arrived simultaneously with the guns. He saw officers trying to make their companies fall in; but two of the regimental guard, whom he asked why the guns were on parade, shot at him point blank. Then all the guard fired on him, but he went to the left of the lines, where the "Light Company" had assembled unarmed, and they besought him to gallop for his life to the fort. He rode instead, with one officer, to the Treasury, hoping to save it; but, greeted with bullets from every direction, he turned for the fort. As he repassed the guard, they fired a volley, which mortally wounded his horse; but it carried him into the fort. Seven officers were killed on parade, and seven of the newly arrived ensigns were killed as

they left the mess, the eighth being mortally wounded. When Colonel Simpson got inside the fort he ordered Lieutenant Brasyer, with his Sikhs, to disarm the company of the 6th Regiment, which was then sent out of the fort. The moment was perilous, for the Sikhs had heard that their brethren at Benares had been destroyed by our guns, and they were on the verge of mutiny; but Brasyer, who had gained a commission from the Ranks in the Panjab campaign, was as tactful as he was brave. He appealed to his men's feelings as soldiers, pointed out the opportunities of growing rich if they remained loyal, and then swore by all their gods that if they refused to obey orders, they should pass into the next world with him by the explosion of the magazines. He explained that Lieutenant Russell, of the artillery, had laid gunpowder trains from where they stood to the principal store of powder, determined, if the Sikhs mutinied, to emulate Willoughby's great deed at Dehli. Brasyer was obeyed.

People in the city had warned the trustful officers against the Sipahis, who had equally denounced the citizens. Both accusing parties were accurate, for there was little difference in their merciless craze for slaughtering every Christian they met, and in many cases with ferocious, insensate cruelty.

The Sipahi Guard held the Treasury inviolate during the night against the insurgents. It had been determined to convey the specie to Dehli as an offering to the Emperor, but this resolution was abandoned next day, and £300,000 was scattered throughout the country. When every house had been plundered, and there was leisure to attend to other matters, an ex-schoolmaster known as Maulavi Laiakat proclaimed himself Governor for the Emperor of Dehli, and

endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to induce an attack on the fort. The Sipahis had gone to their villages, loaded with bags of silver, which in most cases was the cause of their being murdered on the journey.

Colonel Neill arrived with a few men by post cart on the bank opposite to the fort on June 11; but as the rebels held the bridge and had removed all boats, he had to get one over from their side in order to cross. For this duty, although the soldiers were exhausted, everyone volunteered. The heat was so intense that two men died in the boat from sunstroke; and the walk of a mile through deep sand from the river to the fort, coming at the end of an exhausting journey, left Neill prostrate. Though he could not stand up, his ardent courage enabled him to direct the clearing of the village nearest to the fort, and he soon regained possession of the bridge of boats. He was now confronted by another difficulty. The European Volunteers and Sikhs brought into the fort quantities of liquor, and by selling the finest growths of brandy and champagne at 6d. the quart bottle demoralised the Madras (1st Royal Dublin) Fusiliers. Neill ordered the Commissariat officer to buy every bottle offered, and thus restored discipline. In a few days, when another detachment of Fusiliers arrived, he tactfully removed the Sikhs to some buildings outside the fort, and, having sent all women and children in a steamer to Calcutta, proceeded to re-establish British authority in the neighbourhood.

June 1857

On June 17 the magistrate's Court was reopened in the deserted city; for all the inhabitants had fled, fearing the retribution which was about to fall on mutineers and Natives concerned in the massacre of our people. That their fears were well founded is shown by the orders issued by Colonel Neill to the

officer about to march to the relief of Lucknow: "All Sipahis, 6th, and 37th Regiments, not on pass, and all of mutinous regiments, who cannot satisfactorily account for themselves, are to be put to death. . . . The Pathan quarter of Fathpur to be destroyed, all in it to be killed." These words were approved by General Havelock, who arrived a few hours before the advanced column marched, and by the acting Commander-in-Chief in Calcutta. They could not have been intended to cover more than "male adults," for another part of the order, directing the destruction of certain villages, uses the words "slaughter all the men." The colonel, while executing the sternest justice, was consistently careful to act only on conclusive evidence of a culprit's guilt; but it is to be feared those who executed his orders were less careful. I believe, however, that no women or children were killed, except by chance bullets, or in burning houses. Nevertheless, apart from all questions of right and wrong, the inexpediency of wholesale slaughter is certain, and at Allahabad it was soon apparent. Colonel Neill's order enjoined "encouragement to the inhabitants to return to their homes"; but 42 were strung up without trial in one village, and naturally the others fled at the sight of a white man.

Our troops depended on Native contractors for supplies and transport, but for some days no one would come near the avenging forces. During the hot weather, campaigning in the plains of Bengal is practically impossible for Europeans without the assistance of Natives. While Colonel Neill was collecting supplies and transport for the advance on Cawnpur, cholera carried off 70 of his Fusiliers; and there were few attendants to pull punkahs, or to throw

water on the grass screens so as to cool the stifling atmosphere of the improvised hospital. A diary mentions: "Camp followers are almost unprocurable." It is remarkable that any could be procured.

BADLI-KI-SERAI

Early on June 7, Lieutenant Hodson, with an escort of the Jhind Rajah's horsemen, rejoined the Ambala force, then encamped at Alipur. He had not only reconnoitred the rebels' position at Badli-ki-Serai, 6 miles from Dehli, but had ridden through the cantonment, and from this time on for many months carried his life in his hand. He was the ideal impersonation of a Light cavalry officer. Two accounts of his career have been published; and the most conflicting opinions of his conduct as "an officer and a gentleman" have been expressed. Two years before the Mutiny he had been removed from the command of the Guides on charges of irregularity in his regimental accounts, and as unfit for the duties of a Frontier officer, who has frequently to exercise judicial functions.

To anyone who (like the writer of this narrative) has had to keep accounts, in Persian characters, of men on detachment the difficulties are so apparent as to induce caution in accepting any charges of improper conduct; and Hodson's successor, an officer of high reputation, after spending four months investigating sixty-four allegations against Hodson, reported that he was free from even the suspicion of impropriety. Colonel (later Field-Marshal Lord) Napier, who knew Hodson well, believed in his integrity. On the other hand, Mr. (later Lord) John Lawrence would not accept his services even in the Mutiny, and there can

be no doubt that his temperament rendered him unfit for the duties of a magistrate. His conduct in shooting with his own hand, and without trial, two sons and a grandson of the King, who had surrendered to him, after the fall of Dehli, has since been reprobated, and in my view justly; but the act was generally approved in India at the time, when quarter was seldom asked, and still more rarely given. Sir Colin Campbell (later Field-Marshal Lord Clyde) followed Hodson's body to the grave in March 1858, as he wrote, "to mark my regret and esteem for the most brilliant soldier under my command, and one I was proud to call my friend."

The rebels' position at Badli-ki-Serai was well chosen. The small village stands on and to the west of the Ambala-Dehli road, the mud walls forming good cover for infantry. One mile to the west runs the Jamnah canal. To the east of the road on a natural rise of ground a battery had been constructed for an 8-inch Howitzer and 4 heavy guns; and 150 yards behind was a Serai, or Rest-house, a square building with high loopholed walls. Thirty guns were in position, and white jars indicating ranges had been placed along the front. To the east of the Serai the ground was marshy, and on either side of the road there were water cuts.

At midnight June 7-8 General Sir Henry Barnard sent Colonel Hope Grant with 3 squadrons of the 9th Lancers, a squadron of Jhind Horse, and a Horse battery, with orders to cross the canal and get behind the enemy's position. The main body, about 2000 strong, moved down the road, with the heavy guns in front; but the rebels, opening on them at daylight, stopped the advance, until the general, seeing his guns

were overmatched, although the left brigade was not in sight, sent the 75th Regiment (1st Gordon Highlanders) direct at the guns. The rebels stood up and fought well, many of them being bayoneted in the batteries; for no mercy was shown. Then the Highlanders, supported by the 1st Bengal Fusiliers (1st Royal Munster Fusiliers), burst open the Serai door and slew all within. At this moment the left brigade, which had marched round the swamp, arrived on the enemy's right flank, just as the cavalry appeared in their left rear.

Hope Grant's march had been delayed by swampy ground, in which the 9-pounder guns stuck fast; but Tombs's 6-pounder guns had now got up with the 9th Lancers and opened on the enemy with great effect. The 9th Lancers were following a cloud of dust indicating the presence of the enemy in motion, when Lieutenant A. Jones saw a 9-pounder gun of the enemy (De Tessier's Battery, which had mutinied at Dehli) galloping away to the flank, but behind the regiment. Jones checking his horse dropped to the rear, and rode in pursuit, accompanied by the regimental sergeant-major and three rear rank men. The rebel drivers flogged their horses, but were soon overtaken, and as Jones cut at the wheel driver the rebel fell off and mechanically clutching the reins stopped the team. While the Lancers were spearing the drivers, Captain Hutchinson, the squadron leader, and Colonel Yule, who were looking for Jones, came up, and he by Yule's direction opened fire with the captured gun on a village, and drove out rebels who had retreated into it. Then the 9th, riding home fiercely, broke up the retreating Sipahis. This charge decided the victory. In spite of the heat and the consequent exhaustion of the infantry, Barnard pressed

June 8
1857

on and seized the Ridge overlooking Dehli on the western side. The British lost 50 killed and 130 wounded, but captured 30 guns, two being 24-pounders, and killed a great number of Sipahis. Lieutenant A. Jones received the Victoria Cross.

CHAPTER IV

CAWNPUR (KAHNPUR)—THE FIRST MASSACRE— THE ESCAPE BY BOAT—HAVELOCK'S VIC- TORIOUS MARCH—THE SECOND MASSACRE

THE city of Cawnpur, with a population of 60,000 Natives, lies 600 miles north-west of Calcutta, 250 miles south-east of Dehli, and 43 miles south-west of Lucknow. It stands on the right or west bank of the Ganges River, which is navigable for light vessels to the sea, distant 1000 miles. In May 1857 the garrison consisted of 60 British artillerymen with 6 guns, a Native cavalry regiment, and 3 Native battalions, in all 3000 Hindustani soldiers, commanded by Major-General Sir Hugh Wheeler. He was an officer of fifty years' distinguished service, to whom Lawrence wrote from Lucknow in the first fortnight of the Mutiny: "You are a tower of strength to us at this juncture." A senior commanding officer writing on May 31 a private letter describes him as "very determined, self-possessed in the midst of danger, and fearless of responsibility."

The cantonment stretched over 6 miles of ground, the jail and magazine being on the river, to the north of the city, *i.e.* up stream, and the cantonment below it. General Wheeler would in the crisis have probably occupied the magazine as a defensive position, but that the withdrawal of the Sipahi guard would have probably

precipitated the outbreak, and, moreover, on May 18 he received a reassuring telegram from Agra, and next day a telegraphic order from Calcutta, to prepare accommodation for a European force. He threw up a bank, 5 feet high, and put 10 field guns in position around the former hospital barracks of a cavalry regiment, then occupied by some sick soldiers, invalid women, and children of the 32nd (Cornwall) Regiment. During the third week of May the general telegraphed favourably and unfavourably day by day as to the chances of the garrison rising; and on the 26th he accepted the proffered but treacherous aid of Nana Sahib, who came in from Bithur and took charge of the Treasury, with a guard of 300 Marathas and 2 guns.

Sir Hugh Wheeler thought the Marathas would not combine with the Hindustanis, with whom, being a good linguist, he conversed daily. He fully realised his peril; but, more apprehensive for the capital of Oudh, he sent back to Lucknow a company of the 32nd which had been lent to him, and, on May 31, a company of the 84th Regiment. After it had started in post carts, Sir Hugh learnt that the Native cavalry was about to rise, and ordered all non-combatants into the intrenchment. The combatants therein numbered about 300, including 74 invalids, 80 officers, some civilians, and a small party of loyal Sipahis. There were some soldiers' wives and 300 half-caste school children, the total being 800 souls.

In the opening chapter I quoted statements showing how ignorant the governing bodies were of the feelings of the Native army. At Cawnpur, however, there was accurate knowledge of coming events, and the officers freely risked their lives in order to delay a mutiny until the arrival of British soldiers from Calcutta. The

European officers slept in the Native lines from May 21 until the outbreak on June 5, hoping that by simulating a confidence they could not feel they might so encourage the soldiers, who were loyal at heart, that they would prevent their evilly disposed comrades violating their oath of fidelity.

Colonel Ewart, commanding the 1st Bengal Native Infantry, in a letter dated May 31, published after his death in the *Times*, commenting on the delay in capturing Dehli, wrote: "It is all we can do to keep our men in order. If we succeed in keeping them from rising in mutiny it will be but little short of a miracle."

After nightfall on June 1 the Nana met delegates of the cavalry regiment in a boat, and with them arranged the outbreak; and on June 5 the troopers rose, and wounded their senior Native officer, who defended the regimental treasure. He was carried inside the intrenchment and killed a few days later by a cannon-ball.

June 1
1857

The battalions, without harming their British officers, followed the lead of the cavalry regiment, as all the Native officers had warned the general they would do. The 53rd Bengal Infantry held out, however, against the calls to mutiny until Sir Hugh shelled their lines, hoping that the fire would cause the Sipahis to hurry off to Dehli. The mutineers plundered the Treasury and made one march, when the Nana, foreseeing he would be of small importance at Dehli under the Emperor, persuaded them to return to Cawnpur, where, after destroying the Europeans, he hoped to reign. On June 6, having been proclaimed Peshwa, he wrote to Sir Hugh announcing his intention of bombarding the intrenchment. The Sipahis were, however, for forty-eight hours too intent on killing Christians, and

plundering in the city to do aught else; but by the 11th they had 12 pieces in position, and threw into the intrenchment 30 mortar shells within three hours.

Sir Hugh Wheeler, who was seventy years of age, left the executive command to Captain Moore, and nobly he carried it out, leading personally numberless counter-attacks. The Native contractors had not executed the requisitions made on them to deliver supplies, so the ration for the garrison was a handful of flour and split peas, with an occasional addition of meat when an old horse or dog strayed into the intrenchment. All suffered from thirst, especially the women and children; for the windlass of the only potable water-well was hammered by grape-shot all day, and even by night, when the creaking of the chain was heard, until it was shot away. Then Mr. John Mackillop, of the Bengal Civil Service, hauled up water 60 feet by hand for the women and children, and continued working thus for a week, until he was mortally wounded. With his last breath he begged a man to carry it to the woman who had asked him for a drink. The women sucked leather to allay their thirst, but the incessant cries of babies caused many soldiers to give up their lives in trying to obtain water for the helpless infants. The dry wells were used as burial-pits, and bodies of 250 dead were thrown into them. The thatched barrack was soon set on fire by a red-hot shot; in it were the sick, the wounded, and soldiers' families. Many were burnt before the rescuers, who were pounded by grape-shot, could carry them out.

At midnight on June 15-16, Captain Moore with 25 men surprised the mutineers' nearest battery, and, bayoneting the gunners, spiked 3 guns. The

Britons ran on to the next battery, killed the artillerymen, blowing up a 24-pounder and spiking two other guns. Moore left one of the gallant 25 dead, and carried back 4 wounded. Next day, however, fresh guns were mounted by the rebels, and after a heavy cannonade an assault was delivered on the intrenchment, which the garrison, though it had only one man to guard every 15 yards of frontage, repulsed with such courage as to extort marked admiration from the mutineers.

On the centenary of Plassey, the mutinous cavalry charged the low bank forming the intrenchment at a gallop; but they were repulsed. The Sipahis, gallantly led by a senior Native officer of the 1st Regiment, who had sworn to take the intrenchment or perish, came on bravely till their leader fell dead; but then the assailants retired, leaving 200 dead just outside the low parapet, our women having increased the defenders' rate of fire by loading their rifles. At sunset a party of rebels came out and, saluting, asked for and obtained permission to carry away their dead.

THE FIRST MASSACRE

Daily the numbers of the garrison were reduced. The general, returning on June 23 after a three hours' round of the intrenchment, found his son had been killed in a room while sitting with his mother and sisters. On June 25 a letter from the Nana was received offering "all subjects of Queen Victoria unconnected with Lord Dalhousie's acts, who will surrender, a safe passage to Allahabad." Sir Hugh Wheeler, mistrusting the Nana, was unwilling to treat; but Moore, the indomitable, who had been the life of the

defence, urged acceptance of the terms for the sake of the women and children. The Nana and his associates, on receiving a satisfactory reply, arranged for the massacre of all the Christians in the 40 boats which he had shown to the delegates from the garrison as prepared for their use. At dawn on June 27, the garrison, about 450 in number, evacuating the position, moved down to the river, the first breach of faith by the rebels being the seizure of a Native officer and 3 loyal Sipahis, who were marched away and killed. Then the colonel of the 1st Bengal Infantry, who, having been previously severely wounded, was being carried, and had fallen in rear, was stopped by a few of his own men and murdered with his wife as she walked alongside the litter.

The general having been wounded, Major Vibart was in command on the river bank, and after he and the other white men had, wading knee-deep, carried the women and children into the boats, no Native help being given, at 9 a.m. he gave the word to push off. The Nana's general, Teeka Singh, ex-captain of cavalry, now sounded a bugle. Thereupon the boatmen, throwing out the oars, put lighted charcoal into the thatched roofs, then jumped overboard, and gained the shore as fire from guns and concealed infantry was opened on the Christians. Some of the British soldiers returned the fire, while others tried to push off the boats, but all except three remained aground. After the majority of their male passengers were dead, Bala Rao, the Nana's brother, and Tantia Topi, who arranged the details of the massacre, sent troopers into the river to kill those still left alive. Two half-caste women were saved, and later married their captors. When the Nana learnt that his plans had been executed, he sent an order to spare the remaining women and

children. One hundred and twenty half-starved people, several wounded ladies, all covered with mud and in rags, for they had given their linen for the wounded, were taken to the Nana, who had them confined in a house.

THE ESCAPE BY BOAT

Two of the three boats which floated off drifted to the northern bank, and all the occupants were shot down by grape and bullets, except 18, who were sent back to the Nana. The rudder of the third boat was shot away, and, without oars, it was impossible to keep it in mid-stream. It carried nearly 100 persons, with room for barely 50 adults. By noon it had drifted out of sight of the Nana's artillery; but the infantry followed it down the bank, and fired whenever the boat got within range. It stranded heavily at 5 o'clock, when only 6 miles down stream, and all efforts to move it failed. The rebels sent down a burning boat, but it missed its object; then a flight of arrows tipped with burning charcoal obliged our people to throw overboard the burning thatched roof, which had sheltered them from the sun. At nightfall all the men, by standing in the water, moved the boat, and at midnight the fire ceased; but, in spite of much hard work in pushing off sandbanks, when day dawned only 4 miles had been gained. A native drummer was sent to some men who were bathing from the bank, and one of them accepted 5 rupees and went to buy food. He did not return, and one of his friends said that a certain Oudh landowner lower down the river had undertaken that no European should escape.

June 27
1857

At 2 p.m. the boat grounded opposite a village, and a heavy fire was opened from it, wounding again Major Vibart, who was in the water (for, though shot through

the arm the previous day, he had continued to work), and many other brave men and women. Captain Moore had fallen the previous day, like Vibart, while at work in the water, though he had been previously severely wounded and his collar-bone broken. At dusk a boat in pursuit carrying 60 armed soldiers approached; but it stuck on a sandbank, and 20 Britons, jumping into the water, attacked the Sipahis so furiously that "few of their numbers escaped to tell the story." A gale during the night lifted the fugitives' boat, but at dawn they found they were in a backwater; and at 9 a.m., being fired on by their pursuers, Vibart ordered Lieutenants Mowbray Thompson, and Delafosse, 53rd Bengal Infantry, and Sergeant Grady, with 11 privates of the 84th and 32nd Regiments, to wade ashore and attack, while he, though now a dying man, with others, tried to move the boat. Thompson and his comrades charged and drove back the enemy for some distance; then, being surrounded, they fought their way back to the bank, and found the boat had gone. They followed down stream, but they never saw it again. The boat was captured, and 80 persons—men, women, and children—reached Cawnpur again on June 30, the day the Nana was enthroned as Peshwa. The men were shot, as was one woman with her child, she having refused to separate from the men or to hand her infant to the Sipahis, who were willing to spare it. The other women joined those captured at the embarkation tragedy three days earlier.

June 29
1857

The 13 survivors left on shore, walking 20 yards apart over rugged country with bare heads and feet under a burning sun, were pursued by a crowd, which, however, did not dare close in, for some of them dropped whenever they approached within easy range.

Now, in front of a temple on the river bank, a large body of men awaited the 13 heroic Britons. The opposite bank was lined by Sipahis ready to shoot those who might take to the water, but there was no hesitation in the minds of our soldiers. Firing a volley, they rushed for the building and took it, Sergeant Grady being killed as he entered. Mowbray Thompson made 4 men kneel in the doorway, and the foremost Natives, pushed on by others eager for blood, fell transfixed on the bayonets, their bodies forming a rampart, behind which our men fired with such effect as to clear the front. Then an attempt was made by the Natives to dig under the foundations; but, consolidated by years, they resisted such puny efforts. The rebels, who were under fire only when opposite the door, threw down faggots, and set them alight; but a strong breeze blew the smoke away without its causing any inconvenience to the 12 surviving soldiers. Later, however, bags of gunpowder were thrown on the ashes, and through them, with bare feet, the party, firing a volley, charged into the crowd. Our men used the bayonet so effectually that seven who could swim reached the bank, and jumped into the water. Their equipment carrying them down, the first volley did them no damage, and then throwing off their belts, they swam, pursued by yelling Natives, who ran after them on both banks. Two of our seven heroic men were shot. One gave up exhausted, and was beaten to death on the bank; but Thompson, Delafosse, and Privates Murphy and Sullivan, passing several alligators basking in the sun, swam and floated on till their last pursuer, a trooper, turned back. Three hours had elapsed when, hearing Natives calling to them to swim ashore, they dived, expecting a shower of bullets; but, on coming to the surface, the Natives protested their

good intentions, and the four Britons accepted their aid. They had swum or floated 6 miles. Murphy and Sullivan were absolutely naked, the officers nearly so, and all were so exhausted from want of food and from their sufferings as to be helpless. They were supported to a village, kindly treated, and next morning carried on an elephant to Maharajah Diribijah Singh's fort. The Maharajah protected them for three weeks, and then sent them under escort to join General Havelock's column.

HAVELOCK'S VICTORIOUS MARCH—FATHPUR

On June 30, the day Lucknow was invested by the rebels, Brigadier-General Havelock, at sixty-two years of age, assumed command at Allahabad from Colonel Neill. Havelock, joining the army in 1815, had become a captain only in 1838, when forty-three years old, and a brevet-lieutenant-colonel eight years later. He had seen service in Afghanistan, Burma, the Panjab, and Persia, was a studious soldier, incapable of fear, and a very religious Baptist. It is possible that his creed influenced his manner, which was admittedly austere. He was small in stature, with snow-white hair and moustaches, but erect, indeed somewhat stiff in his bearing, although singularly alert.

An advanced column of 400 Europeans and 500 Natives, with 2 guns, under Major Renaud, had marched on the evening of June 29 from Allahabad to relieve Cawnpur, and was followed on July 7 by another force under Havelock. The march of the columns was painful. Soon after the troops under Havelock left Allahabad, rain fell in torrents, and for the first three days but little progress was made.

The news that Cawnpur had fallen had been received on July 3 by a messenger sent by Sir Henry Lawrence from Lucknow. Lawrence ordered Major Renaud to halt, and Havelock did the same when Renaud passed on the message. General Neill protested against any delay, and when Havelock maintained his decision, Neill, with a strange disregard of soldier-like spirit, telegraphed to Calcutta remonstrating against Havelock's order. Meanwhile Major Renaud, anxious to seize Fathpur, said to be held by a few matchlock-men only, marched forward before the general came up, and would have been overwhelmed by the rebels, numbering 3500 men with 12 guns, had not Havelock recognised his subordinate's danger, and by forced marches joined him at daylight on July 12. The day before overtaking Renaud's column Havelock's men marched 15 miles under scorching sun, and suffered greatly. They halted from sunset till 11 p.m., and then went on steadily till daylight, when they overtook the leading detachment. After a short rest the united force, 2000 Britons, 550 Natives, and 8 guns, proceeded 17 miles farther, and camped 4 miles from Fathpur.

July 12
1857

The 20 mounted Volunteers (mainly officers), reconnoitring the town, were chased back from its outskirts, and the rebels advanced boldly, both in front and on the flanks, thinking that Renaud's small column only was before them. Havelock, posting 300 infantry in a copse in his front, rested the men, until the enemy pressed on determinedly, when the general, sending his guns up in the centre, advanced his whole force and drove the rebels from successive positions, including a barricade on the road through the town, and its garden enclosures, to a position a mile beyond. There Lieutenant Palliser's Oudh Irregulars

came on an equal body of the 2nd Cavalry, the regiment which led the mutiny and massacre at Cawnpur. Palliser, shouting "Charge!" galloped on, but was closely followed by some Native officers and only 3 troopers. They exchanged blows with the enemy, who then lowering their swords called to the Irregulars to join them. Just then Palliser fell off his horse, and the rebels rode at him. His men galloped back, and he must have been killed had not 3 Native officers fought hard to protect him until he remounted, when all fled. The horse of Najab Khan, who had just helped to save Palliser's life, fell into a ditch, and the loyal soldier was killed. The infantry and artillery now advanced, dispersing the enemy, and Havelock encamped, after capturing 11 guns in four hours' fighting. Next day the deserted town, which had contained 20,000 inhabitants, was given up to the column to be plundered.

On June 9, when British authority was annihilated at Fathpur, all the Christians escaped to Bandah, except the Judge, Mr. R. Tudor Tucker, who, trusting the people, declined to quit his post. With a few horsemen he had routed some rebels in the street, and, although wounded, remained at his office when his countrymen rode off. Mr. Tucker had never concealed his wish to convert the Natives; he had erected 4 stone pillars outside the town, with the Ten Commandments and texts engraven in Persian and Hindi. Yet he had so endeared himself to the people by his charitable and Christian life that no one openly objected to his proselytism. He could, however, when necessary, fight as strenuously as he prayed. Attacked in his house, he took post on the roof and shot, it was said, 13 of his assailants before he succumbed. When the men who killed him were

boasting of the deed on their return from the Court-house, 2 Hindus reviled them for having killed such a good man, and were themselves at once slain for their liberality of opinion.

On July 14 Havelock resumed his march, dismounting the troop of Native Irregulars who had misbehaved when Najab Khan was killed, and on the 15th he came on the rebels, who occupied a hamlet on the south side of Aong, holding strongly also that village, in front of which heavy guns were intrenched on the road. The rebels at once attacked, their cavalry trying to capture Havelock's baggage; but Renaud, gallantly leading the Madras (1st Royal Dublin) Fusiliers, though he was mortally wounded, carried the hamlet. Somewhat later the intrenchment at Aong and the village were carried by a bayonet charge, the Sipahis resisting fiercely.

July 15
1857

The soldiers were resting under a mango grove, the shade being an intense relief to the eyes after hours of exertion under burning sun, when Havelock, hearing the bridge over a flooded river, distant 2 miles on his road to Cawnpur, was still intact, ordered the advance. The men, notwithstanding their exertions, greeted the sound with cheers. As the column came in sight of the river two 24-pounder guns opened fire, causing some casualties. The Madras (Royal Dublin) Fusiliers, extended as skirmishers, moved on the river bank, while Major Maude, dividing the battery, took his guns to within 300 yards of each side of the bridge, which spanned the water at a salient, and silenced the enemy's pieces. The rebels then exploded a charge which destroyed the parapets; but the roadway remained intact, and the Fusiliers, closing in, rushed the bridge and captured the guns, whereupon the enemy retired. During the night Havelock

heard that many women and children were still prisoners, and that Nana with a large force was 4 miles south of Cawnpur.

After marching 15 miles next day, the troops rested for three hours and moved on again at 10.30, under a scorching sun, which knocked down many men with sunstroke. The enemy was soon found, occupying an intrenched position, with 5 heavy and 2 field guns. Havelock, recognising that his force, now numbering only 1100 Europeans and 300 Sikhs, could not carry the position in front, moved round the enemy's left, being concealed for some time by groves of mango trees. When the rebels perceived the movement, they met it by artillery fire and the advance of cavalry; but the Fusiliers again leading, all pressed on, although Maude's field guns could not silence the enemy's heavy battery, which was well placed within a hamlet, on rising ground. Havelock now ordered an assault, and the 64th (1st North Staffordshire Regiment) on the left, the 78th (2nd Seaforths) on the right with their pipers sounding the pibroch, the line advanced under heavy fire in quick time, with sloped arms, until 100 yards from the village. Then the battalions charged, and with the bayonet killed all the Sipahis who stood up to die for their cause, the 64th capturing 3 guns.

July 16
1857

After a short halt the line was re-formed, and Havelock, pointing to a gun and masses of rebels on the next rising ground, rode himself in front, calling, "Highlanders, another such charge wins the day," and leading direct on the enemy's gun took it. The breathless Highlanders were now halted, but the 64th (1st North Staffordshire), 84th (2nd York and Lancaster), and Sikhs pressed on and routed the enemy's right, capturing two guns. Captain Beatson,

a Staff officer, mortally stricken that morning with cholera, could not ride; but, coming up at this moment on an ammunition cart, he ordered the mounted Volunteers to pursue. Barrow led his 18 sabres at the gallop after the retreating foe. A rebel cavalry regiment, acting as rearguard, faced them; but the Britons charged, hurtling into the mass, which broke up and fled, pursued by Barrow, shouting, "Point, point, no cuts," to his men, of whom 6 were wounded ere the little party drew rein. On their return they were greeted by Havelock, "Well done, gentlemen Volunteers: I am proud to command you."

The general now followed up the enemy, who stood in a village firing heavily on the unsupported infantry; for Maude's battery, the bullock teams being exhausted, had dropped back. Havelock again rode to the front, calling out, "Who'll take this village, 64th or 78th?" Then both detachments raced into it, while the Madras (Royal Dublin) Fusiliers cleared a plantation on the right. Soon after the force again moved on, having now only 12 effective mounted men. It came unexpectedly on the enemy with a 24-pounder gun in position on the road; farther back were 2 lighter guns, and a large array of horsemen and infantry in a concave formation. The British guns and the Sikhs were behind, and the weary Europeans were ordered to halt and lie down. They had done so, when a 24-pounder shot cut through the column. This encouraged the rebels, who, fighting in front of the Nana, advanced with trumpets sounding and drums beating, while their cavalry cut up our wounded in the rear of the column. The general's horse had been shot; but, mounting a pony, he rode out in front, ordering, "The line will advance"; and the 64th, led

by Major Stirling, marched straight on the gun and captured it, Lieutenant Havelock, who was aide-de-camp to his father, riding direct up to its muzzle.

The rebels then gave way, and Havelock's men bivouacked without food within 2 miles of the Cawnpur cantonment. In nine days the troops had marched in the hottest season 126 miles, and, though many were stricken with cholera and sunstroke, they had fought and won 4 well-contested actions and several smaller affairs; they had also captured 23 guns and slain innumerable Sipahis. At daylight next morning they heard they were too late!

THE SECOND MASSACRE

On July 1, the British prisoners had been moved to a small house, containing 2 rooms, 20 feet by 10 feet, with servants' rooms at the back, and a narrow verandah running along the front. With them were some Christians, captured when flying from Fathpur and other stations. In all, 5 men, 206 women and children were crowded into this building, unfit for an English family, without furniture or even straw for bedding. They were fed on unleavened bread (chupatties) and lentil soup. Twenty-eight died in a fortnight, and then some better food was provided. On July 10 the defeated general, Bala Rao, returned from Aong with a bullet in his shoulder, and a council was held to decide on future action. There were conflicting views as to fighting, but a unanimous opinion that all prisoners should be put to death.

At 5 p.m., July 15, the Nana sent for the men and had them killed in his presence, and an hour later he ordered the Sipahi guard to shoot the women and children through the doors and

windows of the house. Some of the guard refused, even when threatened with death at the mouth of the cannon, others fired without aim, and eventually one of the Nana's Maratha guard, two Muhammadan butchers from the city, and two peasants slaughtered our unhappy people with swords and knives, and closed up the building at night. Early next day the dead and dying (3 women could still speak, and 3 or 4 of the children were but little hurt) were thrown into an adjacent well. There was no mutilation, no dishonour attempted, but the horrible massacre, which appalled the whole civilised world, induced reprisals on many thousands who had never been near Cawnpur.

CHAPTER V

THE SIEGE OF ARAH — THE FAILURE OF A MUDDLED RELIEF EXPEDITION — VINCENT EYRE'S BRILLIANT SUCCESS

THE PATNA DISTRICT

IN 1857 Patna, which stands on the right or south bank of the Ganges, 370 miles north-west of Calcutta, contained 158,000 inhabitants, 38,000 of whom were Muhammadans. It was the stronghold in India of the extreme Moslem sect, called Wahabis. The garrison of Danapur, the cantonment 10 miles to the west of the city, consisted of 1 English and 3 Native battalions, and 1 company of British and 1 of Native artillery. Mr. Tayler, the Commissioner of the district, was a man of energy and determination, with a sound knowledge of Native affairs. After the Meerut outbreak he frequently urged the disarming of the Sipahi battalions, but his advice was disregarded. He carried out, however, the disarmament of the citizens, and arrested many notables. When a rising occurred on July 3, by the help of 150 Sikhs, under Captain Rattray, Mr. Tayler put it down with a strong hand, and executed 14 out of 31 men he had arrested.

The Government at Calcutta, which had the advice of the acting Commander-in-Chief, who, having been previously Chief Staff Officer of the Bengal Army,

was presumably acquainted with the character of its senior officers, threw the responsibility of deciding the question of disarming the Sipahis on the general, authorising him to retain the 5th (Northumberland) Fusiliers, then on its way to Allahabad, at Danapur, so as to effect the disarming without bloodshed. The sound principle of delegating to the senior officer on the spot the deciding of important matters in critical times was here inapplicable, for the man in command was useless. The general, who had spent all his regimental service in a Sipahi battalion, had learnt to appreciate the good points of the men; he could scarcely believe ill of them, and was mentally unable to formulate any decision; he hesitated, and let the battalion steam on up the river. Two days later, on July 24, he disembarked two companies of the 37th (Hampshire) Regiment. Then, again hesitating, he ordered the Sipahis to give up their percussion caps, but allowed them to retain their muskets. The caps in the magazine were removed to the European square, with only verbal protests from the Native soldiers; but at 1 p.m. on July 25 the general ordered another parade of the Sipahi brigade without informing the Europeans, who were then at dinner. The officers commanding the Native regiments had been directed to collect the 15 percussion caps which each Sipahi carried in his pouch. When the order to hand them in was given, the Sipahis ran to the "Bells of Arms," and, seizing the muskets, fired on their officers, but without hurting them. The general had gone on board a steamer without having left clear orders for the guidance of the next senior officer. The general's written explanation of his conduct, submitted later, was that "he had no horse in the cantonment, his stable was two miles off, he could not walk far or much, and

July 1857

he thought he would be most useful on the steamer." The Sipahis, unmolested, emptied their regimental store of percussion caps and marched for Arah, 35 miles to the westward.

THE SIEGE OF ARAH

Kunwar Singh, a tall, noble-looking Rajput, was determined in character, and, in spite of severe suffering from neuralgia, very active for a man seventy-five years of age. He was a powerful landowner near Arah, but the value of his estates, then in liquidation, had been greatly reduced by the Revenue system recently enforced. He had undertaken, early in 1857, to raise £200,000 to pay off his debts. The Revenue Board, at a most inopportune moment, and in spite of the protests of the Commissioner, Mr. Tayler, had informed Kunwar Singh, just before the Meerut rising, that unless he found the money in a month they would take certain steps which he regarded as tantamount to sequestration. Naturally he became a rebel. He was a worthy antagonist, for he kept in safety a large number of native Christians who were in his power. When covering a retreat in April 1858, he was shot through the wrist; he ordered a follower to cut it off with his sword, and died the same night from hemorrhage.

The Danapur Sipahis reached the Son River early on the 28th, and with the help of Kunwar Singh's men, who collected boats, all had crossed by nightfall. The chief, being anxious to retain the Sipahis in Western Bihar, *i.e.* the Patna district, persuaded them to march to Arah in order to kill the Europeans, and seize the Treasury. They seized the money, but Mr. Tayler had sent over 50 of Rattray's Sikhs, under

Jemadar Hukum Singh, who had fought against us in the Satlaj and Panjab campaigns. These, with the Arah Christians, 9 Europeans, 6 Eurasians, a loyal Muhammadan gentleman, and a personal Native servant, made up a garrison 70 adults all told. They took post in the smaller of 2 houses in the garden of Mr. Vicars Boyle, a Civil engineer, then employed in railway construction, who, in spite of ridicule, had fortified and provisioned the house with supplies, laying in also a store of powder and lead. The house was strongly built, 20 feet high, with a flat roof. Mr. Herwald Wake, the magistrate, took command; Mr. Boyle, assisted by Mr. Colvin, Wake's deputy, conducted the defence, and no trained soldiers ever did better work.

The 3 battalions of mutineers, augmented by July 1857 released jail prisoners and some of Kunwar Singh's levies, formed up 600 yards from the post, and with bugles and drums playing, advanced in close order until they got to within 200 yards. Then, sounding the "Charge," they doubled up to the house, shouting, "Death to them." The Sikhs made no sign till the Sipahis were at close range, but then they poured on them so destructive a fire that they broke up without attempting to enter the building. They surrounded it in skirmishing order, but were unable to show themselves in the open.

The rebels mounted a 4-pounder on the roof of the larger house, 60 yards off; but, having no trained gunners, their practice was very bad, many of the balls passing over the defenders. The projectiles were weights taken from shops in the town and roughly hammered into balls. Moreover, the Judge, who was an expert rifle shot, made it dangerous for any rebel to show himself on the roof. Next day another 4-pounder

opened fire through a hole in the garden wall, only 15 yards distant, and riddled the house, but without causing any casualties. Then an attempt was made to smoke out the garrison. A large heap of firewood collected during the night was covered with red pepper plant and fired, but the wind drove the smoke away to the camp of the rebels. Some Sikhs in their ranks tried to win over their countrymen, to whom they appealed in the name of their common religion, country, and personal interest, every Sikh being promised 500 rupees if the Christians were surrendered. Then the Civil officials only were demanded, a free passage to Danapur for all others being promised. All these appeals were made and reiterated, but in vain. The loyal Sikhs rejected with equal determination daily overtures to surrender, and in sallies secured some more food. At midnight of the 29th-30th heavy firing was heard a mile off; but the garrison's hopes of relief were dashed as the sound died away. A wounded Sikh from a defeated relief column, crawling through the rebel force into Arah-house, some hours later, told how the failure had occurred.

A MUDDLED RELIEF EXPEDITION FAILS

On the evening of July 27 a steamer carrying 200 of the 37th (Hampshire) Regiment, sent from Danapur to relieve Arah, grounded on a sandbank, and the general in the first instance resolved to recall the troops. Later on he sent 150 of the 10th (Lincolnshire) Regiment, and 70 Sikhs to reinforce the party, and the united force (415 all told) landed at 2 p.m. on the 29th, 17 miles from Arah. The men were about to eat their first meal that day, when the advanced guard opened fire on some Sipahis, who retreated. The force

then moved on, and about midnight had got to within a mile of Arah-house, when, being without an advanced guard or scouts, it walked into an ambush. A storm of bullets fired by an invisible enemy at close range in front, and from a dense mango grove on a flank, killed the commander and several officers. The troops, after the first surprise, collected in groups, and fired in all directions. Soon they were reassembled by sound of bugle in a field, where, although the British white uniforms offered a clear mark to the unseen Sipahis, they held their ground in a large dry tank till daylight, when the troops started back for the Son River. It was preceded, accompanied, and followed by 5000 of the enemy, who occupied houses, broken ground, and mud walls, and fired continuously at the retreating column. The British troops, in spite of heavy losses, retained generally their formation, and occasionally made bayonet charges, when the Sipahis always fled.

There were many brave deeds done in that retreat. July 1857
Mr. Ross Mangles, of the Civil Service, carried and supported by turns a wounded soldier for 5 miles. Private Dempsey and another soldier of the 10th (Lincolnshire) Regiment carried by turns Ensign Erskine, who had been mortally wounded. It was, however, mainly owing to the discipline, calm courage, and military training of the Sikh detachment of 70 men, acting as rearguard, that the remnant of this muddled expedition regained the Ganges. They never lost formation, never hurried the pace. Many of their white fellow-soldiers, some wounded, others exhausted, were saved by the Panjabis. One of them gave moral as well as physical support to a young Briton who, exhausted, sat down to die. "Cheer up! come on! do not despair!" said the Sikh as he gave him an arm. "Rest assured, when I see you cannot go farther, I'll

save you from those brutes by putting a bullet through your head." That Briton reached the boats.

When the famishing but still resolute soldiers got back to the river, the water had fallen, and all but five boats were aground. The thatched roofs of some of those afloat now caught fire. The enemy followed up closely, killing, with many others, Lieutenant Ingelby, who was the last man to jump into the water. The losses incurred in attempting to float the boats were greater than in the retreat of 16 miles. Mr. McDonell, of the Civil Service, received the Victoria Cross for cutting away the lashing of a laden boat under heavy fire, as did also Mr. Ross Mangles for his brave deed. Three unwounded officers out of 15, 50 unwounded and 150 wounded soldiers out of 415 men, who had started on the expedition, mustered on the far bank, and then drifted down in the boats to Danapur.

The attacks on Mr. Vicars Boyle's house proceeded, but the deficiency of food and water was more serious for the defenders, who now sunk a well, 18 feet deep. They made up cartridges from the powder, and cast bullets from the lead Mr. Boyle had stored; and by a sally they obtained 4 sheep. On August 2, when the garrison were contemplating an attempt to cut their way out, the sound of approaching firing was again heard.

THE RELIEF OF ARAH BY MAJOR VINCENT EYRE

Major Vincent Eyre, Bengal Artillery, who had been recalled from Burma, reached Baksar, on the Ganges, on July 28, with the men of his battery, but without draught animals for the guns. He was a man in the highest sense of the word, and endowed with great natural talents. During the first Afghan war when Muhammad Akbar Khan demanded married

British officers as hostages, he was the only officer who with his wife and child accepted his general's appeal for volunteers, answering, "Yes, if it is to be productive of great good." Eyre heard on July 29, while waiting for 150 men, of the 5th (Northumberland) Fusiliers, who were steaming up the Ganges, that Arah, 45 miles to the eastward, still held out. He landed the Fusiliers and his guns, and selected from the Government establishment oxen to drag the guns, and carts for ammunition and supplies; and Mr. Bax (later Bax-Ironside), the district Magistrate, borrowed 4 elephants for general transport purposes from the Rajah of Dumrao.

Eyre informed the general at Danapur that he intended to move on Arah. He received discouraging letters after he had marched, but these did not deter him. He had started at sunset on the 31st with 6 officers, 18 mounted volunteers, 40 gunners, with 3 guns, and 154 Fusiliers. The tracks were heavy, and, the bullocks being unused to work in team, progress was painfully slow; but he moved on until he reached Shahpur, 28 miles from Baksar. There he Aug. 1857 heard of the disaster to the first relief column, but he marched on till sunset. Starting again at daylight on August 2, he met the enemy almost immediately. They occupied in great force a wood in front, flanked by inundated rice-fields. The rebels advanced on both flanks, when Eyre, his guns covered by the 5th Fusiliers massing on their centre, attacked those in the wood; and the rebels, unable with their smooth-bore muskets to contend with the men using rifles, fell back two miles on Bibiganj, while Eyre halted to rest his men and the oxen. The rebels were now on the far bank of a river, the bridge had been destroyed, and strong intrenchments covered the approaches.

Eyre moved a mile to his flank, where a railway embankment in course of construction offered a direct road to Arah, guided by Mr. Charles Kelly, a civilian who commanded a dozen Baksar Volunteers, and whose local knowledge was now as useful as his distinguished gallantry in fighting, and his cheerful readiness under exhausting work, had been inspiring to all in the little forces. He was twenty-four years of age, a remarkable type of manly beauty, and, as one of the survivors writes, "the very Ajax of the column." Mr. Kelly guided well, but the rebels, having a shorter distance to march, occupied an angle of a thick wood abutting on the embankment before Eyre got up, while Kunwar Singh's Irregulars attacked the rear of the column. For an hour a hot fire was kept up, when Captain the Hon. E. P. R. H. Hastings, acting as Volunteer Staff Officer, brought word to Eyre that the Fusiliers were losing ground. Eyre, having no artillery officer, was obliged to remain with his guns and to lay the guns himself. He had twice repulsed by case-shot attacks pushed to within 60 yards; and the situation was critical. Eyre, never hesitating, ordered a bayonet charge. The Fusiliers, extended in a long thin line, closed in rapidly, and, gallantly led by L'Estrange and Hastings in front of the flanks, jumped across the stream narrowed by the embankment, and, with a loud cheer, rushed at more than 20 times their numbers. The rebels fled panic-stricken, punished by the fire of Eyre's guns. He then marched on till nightfall, but when only 4 miles from Arah he came to an impassable torrent. His men, however, by working all night, and throwing bricks, stacked for building a railway bridge, into the stream, narrowed it sufficiently to make a rough bridge. At nightfall the besieged had sent out a reconnoitring party, and

found the rebels had fled, leaving a loaded powder-hose all ready for a mine which had been carried up to the foundations of the house. Next morning Eyre's force marched unopposed into Arah.

REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

There was no intended cruelty on the part of our officers, but by a drumhead court-martial, on which the Judge and the Magistrate sat under Major Eyre as President, drastic punishment was meted out to many rebels, against whom the townspeople eagerly testified, and in most cases capital punishment followed. Those ordered to be "taken away" were led to the garden of Arah-house and hanged, or in effect strangled. Many asked permission to adjust the rope around their necks; all met death with dignity. Indeed, Asiatics give Europeans object-lessons in that respect. An old man, while awaiting his turn on the gallows, and witnessing the painful struggles of a man dying in the air, opening his kummerbund, took out all his property, three rupees, and said calmly, "This is my will! I give one rupee for prayers for my soul, one I leave for charitable purposes, and the third I bequeath to the man who hangs me." This decorum was in marked contrast with the bestial fury of other Natives in the neighbourhood, who, a few days previously, dishonoured our dead. Just outside the town the road was bordered by fine tamarind trees, to the branches of which the naked corpses of 104 British soldiers, killed in the abortive relief expedition, were suspended. In many instances the bodies must have been brought some distance to the spot.

Aug. 1857

On the return march, a month later, there was a pleasant episode, the recalling of which lightens the

painful history of retributive slaughter. When Eyre was advancing on Arah, a rebel mounted scout was chased and overtaken by the mounted Volunteers acting as advanced guard. One riding at him did no damage, and the rebel, having wounded the Volunteer's horse, dismounted and stood at bay in a boggy field. After several pistols had been fired at him, he was knocked down by a bullet, which fractured his arm. He was interrogated, but would not speak. Dr. Eteson, the assistant-surgeon of Eyre's battery, put the arm in splints, and propped the rebel up against a tree. A month later, when Eyre's column returned, and the villagers brought the rebel scout for inspection, the arm was doing well.

None of the subordinates, neither L'Estrange, who led the undaunted Fusiliers, nor Captain Hastings, who had collected the transport for the march, nor Mr. Kelly, the heroic civilian, were rewarded; and but for an accidental meeting with Sir Hugh Rose, Eyre would have been forgotten, since the incapable general of Danapur was soon afterwards dismissed from his post, and the services of those who worked under him were disregarded. Ten years after the Mutiny Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn) accidentally met Eyre in Pall Mall, and asked, "How is Lady Eyre?" "Who is that?" "Why, your wife." "Oh! Mrs. Eyre is well, thank you." Sir Hugh was in England at the time of the Arah episodes, going to Bombay later in the Mutiny, but, like many other officers, he appreciated Eyre's glorious success where another had failed. He went straight to the Horse Guards, and got the omission rectified in an early *Gazette*.

CHAPTER VI

DEHLI—THE BRITISH POSITION OUTSIDE THE CITY—LINES OF COMMUNICATION GUARDED BY SIKHS—PROPOSED ASSAULT ABANDONED—DEATH OF GENERAL BARNARD—CAPTURE OF LUDLOW CASTLE

THE BRITISH POSITION

AT the end of Chapter III it was shown how General Barnard, after his victory at Badli-ki-Serai, pressed on and took up a position overlooking the bloodstained capital of the north-west of India.

Dehli was about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference with 150,000 inhabitants, nearly equally divided as to religion. The city is built on a plain, enclosed on three sides by stone walls 11 feet thick on top, 15 feet below, 16 feet high, with ditches 25 feet wide and 16 feet deep. On the east side the unfordable river Jamnah washed a much lower wall. A rocky ridge, some 50 feet above the plain, starting from the bank of the river north of Dehli, runs southward for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, offering a good defensive position, which was indeed essential until September, when the arrival of a Siege train and reinforcements from the Panjab enabled the actual siege to be undertaken. The troops encamped to the westward of the Ridge on the lines of the Native brigade which had mutinied, occupying the crest with strong pickets, which were later pushed

forward as more troops arrived. Between the Ridge and the city, 1200 yards distant from the British right or south flank, the ground was thickly covered by houses, and walled-in gardens. The weak point of the position was the extreme right, behind which the suburb of Sabzi Mandi, with numerous strongly-built houses and leafy gardens occupied by the enemy, enabled them to threaten our communications with the Panjab by the road which is engineered through the southern edge of the Ridge, 900 yards south of Hindu Rao's house, the key of the position. This, the country-house of a great Maratha noble, stood on the highest point of the south-west end of the ridge, the ground falling away sharply to the Ambala road. Four hundred yards south of the Ambala road the Dehli Canal runs from the westward past 4 villages, the principal of which was Kishanganj, nearly due eastwards through the city, and into the Jamnah River near the Calcutta Gate. Half a mile south of the canal the ground rises again, and on its summit, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Hindu Rao's house, stood a large mosque, surrounded by strongly-built walls, called the Idgah.

The position near Hindu Rao's house was occupied by the Sirmur Gurka battalion, under Major Charles Reid, who had served in the Sindh, Satlaj and Burmese wars, and was as cool in council and in action as he was resolute in the most desperate circumstances. He commanded not only at Hindu Rao's house, where he personally repulsed 26 attacks, but later all pickets near to it, and never left his position till he was severely wounded when commanding a column in the final assault. Major Reid must have had an uncomfortable residence, for it was bombarded for two and a half months, one round shot alone killing 9 and wounding 5 of our people, 2 being officers. The

Gurka battalion, 490 strong, lost 320 men killed and wounded; but 180 of the indomitable little hill-men who were sick and wounded asked permission to leave hospital for the final assault.

Half a mile north of Hindu Rao's house, where a road crossed the Ridge, was a mosque, which, though not in repair, afforded some accommodation, and its thick walls made it a strong defensive outpost. Half a mile still farther northwards, where another road crossed the Ridge, was a strong double-storied building, called the Flag-Staff Tower, also affording a good post for defence.

The troops on the Ridge must, however, have retired for want of food had not the chiefs of the Cis Satlaj, or protected Sikh States, kept open the road from the Panjab, down which was sent not only all food supplies, but the two siege trains and ammunition from Philur and Firuzpur. It was Mr. (later Lord) Metcalfe who, in 1808, at the age of twenty-three, being sent by the Governor-General, Lord Minto, on a mission to Ranjit Singh, "The Lion of the Panjab," by a singular mixture of patience and courage protected the Rajah of Patiala and the minor chiefs, who lived between the Satlaj and the Jamnah, against "The Lion," and Patiala has for 150 years faithfully acknowledged the obligation. In the mutiny the rulers of Jhind, Nabha, and Nawab of Karnal, an influential local landowner, all followed Patiala's example. Mr. Barnes, the Commissioner, Mr. Douglas Forsyth, Deputy Commissioner of Ambala, and Mr. G. H. Ricketts, Deputy Commissioner for Lodiana, were all supported by the principal Sikhs, although the King of Dehli had written to them a command to return to the allegiance of their rightful monarch. Mr. Forsyth asked the Maharajah of Patiala, "Which side does your Highness intend to take?" He answered, "My

brother, here, is a partisan of the King of Dehli, but I am loyal to the Government," and throughout he acted up to his promise. He was young, and his loyalty is the more creditable because the feeling of his relatives, and of the mass of his people, was hostile, as is shown by the fact that while the Maharajah maintained 5000 men in guarding our line of communications, none of his countrymen would enlist in our levies.

The Rajah of Nabha was still younger, not only in his age, nineteen years, but in character. His people were inimical and his advisers disloyal at heart. The smaller Sikh States followed Patiala's example, but it must be admitted that the recorded views of the Jhind Rajah had much influence over all the Cis Satlaj princes. His territory was the nearest to Dehli, and being a clever man of great experience, he saw farther in the political horizon than did his brother chiefs. Major Hodson was sent to him by General Anson at the outbreak, and enlisted some useful men. The Rajah was present in the action at Badli-ki-Serai, 9 miles outside Dehli. He saw the Bengal (Royal Munster) Fusiliers capture the town, he followed closely the 75th (1st Gordon Highland) Regiment, storming the battery in front, and then the fortified Serai. After he had been for some time on the Ridge he wrote letters to Patiala, Nabha, and other leaders of the Sikhs, and a copy of that sent to Nabha was passed into the office of the Deputy Commissioner at Lodiana.

Jhind stated fully the very great difficulties to be overcome by the British troops. He then described vividly how he had witnessed the capture of the battery and of the strong building at Badli-ki-Serai, and his astonishment when the foremost stormers fell dead still clutching their rifles, that there was no check till the Serai was captured. He concluded by expressing a

decided opinion that a nation with such soldiers would certainly eventually win in the struggle for supremacy.

In the fort at Lodiana there were three companies of the 3rd Bengal Native Infantry under Lieutenant Yorke, to whom the men had confided their intention of rising when the battalion did, yet they remained outwardly respectful, always placing a chair for him when he visited them on several occasions. Eventually, however, they all mutinied.

Mr. Thornton, an Assistant Commissioner in the Lodiana office, had ridden very early on June 8 to the fort at Philur, where he heard of the outbreak at Jalandha, and waited on the north bank of the Satlaj until he saw the mutineers received as guests by the 3rd Bengal Native Infantry in the Philur cantonment. Mr. Thornton then removed with his own hands the northern end of the bridge of boats, and thus cut off the communication with the south; he then rode back to Lodiana to report.

June 8
1857

The mutineers, unmolested by troops from Jalandha, marched four miles up stream to the Kureana ferry, in a bend of the river, where Lord Lake had forded it in 1805, when following Holkar's Marathas. The ferry-men and boats had been brought over to the south or Lodiana side of the main channel of the river by the Deputy Commissioner's order.

There were in 1857 several subsidiary channels. After the melting of the Tibetan snows there was occasionally difficulty in crossing the main channel, for the river in traversing Kashmir falls from 100 to 150 feet in a mile, producing in its course through the east of the Panjab, when the water first rushes down, a crested wave of current from 3 to 4 feet in height. The mutineers found a boat on the northern bank into which a number of men crowded, but when it was in

the swirl of waters in midstream it capsized, and all the Sipahis were drowned.

The boatmen lived on the northern bank, and the mutineers, marching the ferryman's wives down to the bank, vowed they should be killed unless the boats were brought over, which was done. This, however, caused so much delay that 400 mutineers were left on the northern bank at nightfall.

The following is a notable example of what was done by a member of the Civil Service, and is narrated as a type of many remarkable deeds performed in Upper India; in the Bengal Civil Service alone, 37 out of 180, as recorded in the Haileybury Chapel, having given their lives in maintaining Great Britain's rule in Hindustan.

When Mr. Thornton reached Mr. Ricketts' house, Captain Rothney and Lieutenant Williams of Rothney's Sikhs were there. The battalion had day by day done the same long stages which rendered the march of the Guides famous. Rothney's battalion leaving Jalandha overnight had covered the 34 miles' distance, with halts of ten minutes only, and had crossed the Philur bridge two hours before the boats were cast adrift.

The Deputy Commissioner, taking three small companies under Lieutenant Williams, marched down the raised causeway road from Lodiana to the left bank of the Satlaj, to endeavour to prevent the Jalandha mutineers crossing the river until they were overtaken by British troops.

When Mr. Ricketts heard Mr. Thornton's news he had sent a requisition to the Rajah of Nabha, who was living in the same camp, for 2 guns and 2 well armed and drilled companies of Sikhs, and a troop of Sikh cavalry to follow him. The Rajah had about 800 men in camp, but most of them were untrained matchlock-men.

The Nabha Rajah, or his ministers, sent 40 untrained men on ponies, 150 matchlock-men, a small gun drawn by ponies, and a 9-pounder gun drawn by 4 camels, to follow Mr. Ricketts. He crossed the main stream in a boat, and, wading through the minor channels, walked to the fort at Philur, in which there was a British garrison, and learnt that the mutineers had gone to a ferry 4 miles up stream, where the width of the river narrows in a re-entering angle.

The Deputy Commissioner and Lieutenant Williams having marched back, at 10 p.m. came on 1600 mutineers, lying down on the south bank of the river. The small gun was fired while being unlimbered when the ponies ran away, and the Sipahis carried the gun to Dehli, whence it was brought back eventually to the Rajah after the mutiny. Mr. Ricketts supervised the camel gun detachment, which was so untrained that the gunners when loading did not know which end of the "fixed ammunition" (powder wad and shot being in one bag) should be put first into the gun. Then the layer pointed the muzzle in the air, but when this was corrected the gun detachment stood up manfully till their 21 rounds had been expended, one man being killed and all but one man wounded. The matchlock-men and those on ponies disappeared on the first musket being fired, but Rothney's Sikhs under Williams remained perfectly steady, although spread out in extended order. Williams was shot through the body and could not go on service again. Mr. Ricketts saw him carried off on a camel before he withdrew the Sikhs and the 9-pounder gun at midnight to the westward. The senior Natives in charge of the men on ponies and on the guns were both hit, and were carried off by the Nabha men. The mutineers then hurried off to

Lodiana, whence the Treasure had been removed a week earlier ; but the three companies detachment, 3rd Bengal Infantry, had collected vast quantities of supplies, which were not removed when the force reunited, and leaving Lodiana at 5 p.m. next day moved in a compact body without pillaging or molesting anyone on their march. It transpired later that although the mutineers carried 60 rounds of ball ammunition, those attacked by the Deputy Commissioner and Lieutenant Williams fired it all away in two hours, and in loading up their reserve in waggons at Jalandha they inadvertently took blank ammunition.

The mutiny occurred early on the night of the 7th. The British troops from Jalandha arrived at Lodiana after the mutineers had left at 5 p.m. on the 9th. The distance is about 34 miles, so had any ordinary officer been in command at Jalandha the 2000 men might have been destroyed without any serious loss to our troops. The Civil and Military authorities at Lodiana begged the general to send on his Panjab cavalry and Horse battery in pursuit. He sent, at 2 a.m. next day, some infantry, which having marched 12 miles, halted. He was superseded on arrival at Ambala.

On June 9, the day after the force arrived on the Ridge, the Guide Corps, consisting of 3 troops of horse and 6 companies of infantry, raised on the borders of Afghanistan, under Captain Daly, joined from Mardan, near Peshawar, having covered 580 miles in 22 days, the most remarkable march recorded in hot weather. The infantry were helped on three or four occasions by camel and pony-carriage when passing populous towns. Three hours after the corps came into camp the men engaged cheerily in a hand-to-hand struggle, and repulsed a sortie. Next day about 6 p.m.

the rebels attacked a picket of the Gurkas, and as the opposing bodies drew near, called to Reid's men, "Come to us." "Yes, we are coming," was the answer, but a well-directed volley at 20 yards' distance killing a number, the rebels fled, and were pursued up to the walls.

On the 12th, for the third day in succession, another and more determined sortie was made. Metcalfe House stood 1000 yards east of the Flag-Staff Tower, in a thickly-wooded park, between the Ridge, and the Jamnah. The mutineers, utilising the cover, got up on the crest of the position unperceived, and, falling on a picket composed of two guns, a company of the 75th (1st Gordon Highlanders), killed the captain and several gunners, the guns being saved by a determined counter attack of the 75th men. Supports then coming up drove the enemy back into the city, but some few bold rebels were killed amongst our tents.

Later in the day a belated attack on Hindu Rao's house, planned to be simultaneous with that on the 75th picket, was vigorously repulsed by the 1st Bengal (1st Royal Munster) Fusiliers. This failure by the rebels in timing their sorties was fortunate for us, as when all the pickets were supported there was no available reserve. Indeed, when the alarm was sounded there was scarcely a man in camp. The Siege train available consisted of eight 18-pounders, four 8-inch and twelve 5½-inch mortars, manned by 150 Europeans, mainly recruits. This situation induced the general, influenced by some young officers, to approve of an assault on the city. Two gates were to be blown in, and then all the European infantry available, numbering 1000, were to force an entrance, while the Natives, some of whom were untrustworthy, took charge of the Ridge, and the camp. Shortly before midnight on

June 13-14, Brigadier-General Graves, who had not been properly instructed as to the assault, declining to act on a verbal order to send away all the Europeans on picket on the Ridge, rode to Sir Henry Barnard's tent. General Barnard asked Graves, who, having commanded the Native brigade which had mutinied on May 11, was well acquainted with the city, "What is your view as to the chances of our assault being successful?" Graves answered, "You may capture the city by surprise, but whether you can hold it is another question." Some of the young officers who had suggested the attempt, now coming into the tent, urged the assault should be delivered, but Sir Henry, who had himself doubted the wisdom of the orders he had issued, hesitated, and before the conference ended day was breaking, and the assaulting columns were withdrawn. This decision, considered by the light of the difficulties experienced in September by treble the force which then stormed the city, was fortunate.

Three days after the projected assault was abandoned, the picket which had been posted at Metcalfe House was heavily attacked, but the mutineers were repulsed after a determined fight. During the night, June 16-17, rebel working parties erected two groups of batteries on the Idgah Hill, a continuation of the Ridge a mile south of the Ambala road, from which guns would enfilade the Hindu Rao house position. Sir Henry Barnard sent Major Tombs, Bengal Horse Artillery, with 400 infantry of the King's Royal Rifle Corps, and Bengal (Royal Munster) Fusiliers, 20 sappers, 30 Guides horsemen, and Major Reid, with the Sirmur Gurkas, to destroy the works. Tombs, pushing back the enemy through a succession of gardens, reached with infantry the Idgah Mosque, which was surrounded by loopholed walls. He then sent

back for 2 guns, and after a brief cannonade, ordered the King's Royal Rifle Corps to advance and fire into the loopholes, while a bag of gunpowder was placed against the gates. They were blown in and all the Sipahi garrison killed, a captured gun being brought back to camp. Major Tombs, who led with distinguished courage, had 2 horses killed under him, making 5 in one month. Major Reid was equally successful; he destroyed the unfinished batteries, killing 31 Sipahis at one spot, who fought bravely with bayonets and swords to defend their work, and lost heavily.

It was generally assumed in the camp on the Ridge that the rebels in the city were supplied with news by the 9th Irregulars, some of whom went over to the enemy. On the other hand, Major Hodson kept his superiors fully informed of nearly every important decision taken by the King and his advisers. Sir Henry Lawrence, when President of the Panjab Board, had a Muhammadan writer in his employment, a man of great ability but so unscrupulous that John Lawrence, on becoming Chief Commissioner, dismissed him. His ruling passion was avarice, and on this failing Hodson played. This secret agent had his own postal runners, and being on intimate terms with the King's chief adviser, was enabled to obtain and send out valuable information.

At daylight on June 19 the pickets were reinforced, June 19 as a spy had given notice of an impending attack, to be headed by two battalions of mutineers just arrived from Nasirabad. A large body of the enemy threatened the position near Hindu Rao's house, while some newly joined battalions passing Sabzimandi moved northwards along the Najafgarh canal, which runs nearly parallel to, and three-quarters of a mile to the west of, the

Ridge, surprising the camel-drivers, whose animals were feeding on the plain. It was late in the afternoon ere the rebels developed their attack near the Ochterlony garden, 3000 yards in rear of the British camp. At one time they had nearly captured one of Major Tombs's guns, shooting down his men from some adjacent bushes, when Captain Daly came up with a few Guides cavalry, and Tombs observed, "Daly, unless you charge, my guns will be taken." Daly, followed by a dozen men, galloped into the bush, and though he was severely wounded, the diversion saved the guns. Brigadier Hope Grant, commanding the cavalry brigade, had some remarkable escapes, and a grape-shot cut away his pistol worn on the waist.

While daylight lasted, the cavalry by vigorous charges kept the rebels back; but the struggle was maintained till 11 p.m., and after dark the enemy's infantry advanced on the flanks of our horsemen. Hope Grant, seeing two of his guns surrounded by rebels, collected a few men and charged into the midst of the foe. A Sipahi firing close to him shot the horse through the body behind Grant's leg, but the gallant animal struggled on for 50 yards through the crowd of infantry and then fell dead. Hope Grant was closely followed by his orderly, Rouper Khan, most of whose regiment had joined the rebels, and by Privates T. Handcock and J. Purcell, 9th Lancers. The latter's horse was killed at the same moment as Grant's. Handcock begged the Brigadier to take his horse and escape, but Grant declined to save his own life by the self-sacrifice of a comrade. Rouper Khan also beseeched Hope Grant to escape on his horse, saying, "Take my horse, Sahib, it is your only chance of life;" but Grant, refusing, caught the orderly's horse by the tail, and was thus dragged

out of the struggling crowd. The darkness favoured their escape, and the uniform of the Native cavalry was so similar in appearance that some time later Hodson, in daylight, unwittingly rode alongside of and talked with the men of a rebel regiment.

The 9th Lancers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Yule, and the Guides cavalry made several gallant charges that evening. Daly had to be carried away to hospital, and Colonel Yule, who had slain 3 rebels in single combat at Badli-ki-Serai, was killed. The day had been intensely hot, and at midnight the exhausted contending forces lay down on the ground to rest where they had fought.

There was, however, but little unbroken rest for the senior officers on the Ridge, for they all realised that the maintenance of the British position necessitated a renewal of the struggle as soon as the defenders could see their innumerable foes, who must be driven away from the rear of the camp, however serious might be the sacrifice of the daily diminishing number of Effectives.

Soon after daylight next morning, however, the rebels retired into the city. Brigadier Hope Grant thanked Trooper Rouper Khan next day, forcing a monetary reward on him, but the high-class Muhammadan returned it at once through his commanding officer, and later he received the Order of Merit.

On the 23rd, the centenary of Plassey, the mutineers, who by the mismanagement of an obstinate and dull British general, had been allowed to march unmolested out of Jalandhar, assaulted the Hindu Rao house position from noon till sunset, and so determinedly, charging again and again, that the result was doubtful, until supports arrived, and enabled Major Reid to repulse the attack. These supports, 75th (1st Gordon Highlanders)

Regiment and 2nd Bengal (Munster) Fusiliers, numbering 350 Europeans and 500 Sikhs, had only just come into camp after a march of 20 miles. The thermometer stood at 140° F., and the soldiers had not eaten that day, so the suffering was great; 5 out of 10 officers got sunstroke, and many men. The enemy suffered severely, leaving 400 dead in the Sabzimandi houses. The Guides breaking into one house found 50 Hindustanis, who asked for mercy but in vain, for all were killed. From this time the village was occupied by intrenched pickets.

On July 5 Sir Henry Barnard, exhausted by bodily exertion and mental anxiety precluding sleep, died of cholera, and his successor, who was in bad health, left for the hills ten days later, putting Brigadier-General Archdale Wilson in command. The day after the Sabzimandi struggle, General Neville Chamberlain arrived in camp to act as Deputy Adjutant-General, bringing with him Lieutenant A. Taylor, Bengal Engineers, who had been employed in the siege of Multan in 1848. Major W. G. J. Mayhew, Deputy Adjutant-General, who had been appointed to succeed Colonel Chester, the Adjutant-General who was killed at Badli-ki-Serai, was detained in Calcutta, by Lord Canning's request, to superintend the equipping and sending forward of the expected British regiments. Now, with reinforcements sent by Sir John Lawrence, the British force amounted to 6600 men of all arms. Simultaneously, the Rohilkhand mutineers, a cavalry regiment, 4 battalions and 8 guns, marched into Dehli, bringing the rebel army up to 30,000 men.

The arrival of Brigadier-General Chamberlain had been anxiously awaited by all the senior officers, who realised that the health of the general in command had broken down. In the character of Neville

Chamberlain there was the unusual combination of reckless personal courage in action and careful reasoned judgment in council. He was appointed Chief of the Staff to the Force on the Ridge, and severely wounded three weeks later, in leading a charge of a small body of troops. From that time till the capture of the city he could help only by the expression of his strong persistent resolution. Lieutenant (now General Sir A., G.C.B.) Taylor, Bengal Engineers, who exercised an influence in the fall of Dehli out of all proportion to his rank, remained at duty, escaping wounds until nearly the end of the siege in spite of the daily opportunities he gave to the mutineers to end his career. He was the only young Sapper with experience of similar work, having served at the siege of Multan in 1848. When he reached the camp on the Ridge no attempt had been made to link up by breastworks the defensible picquet posts, so "Ration" and all other "carrying parties" were constantly under fire. This error was now immediately corrected, and when the actual siege was begun six weeks later, the labour controlled by Taylor and in the Engineer Park Lieutenant H. A. (now Major-General) Brownlow, under whom all the Siege materials were made up, amounted to 156 Bengal Sappers, a faithful remnant of the Rurki battalion, 800 Muzbee Sikh pioneers, and 1100 local day labourers, who, attracted by the high rate of pay, worked steadily under a heavy and destructive fire. When a man was killed his comrades wept for a minute or two, and then placing the corpse aside, resumed work with spade and shovel, remarking, "It is the will of God our brother should die."

On July 9 Major Tombs and Lieutenant Hills (General Sir Hills-Johnes) won the Victoria Cross.

Hills was on picket with 2 guns of Major Tombs's troop in a hollow on the right rear of the camp, three-quarters of a mile west of the Ridge and midway between "the Mound" and the canal. The 8th Irregulars had mutinied to a man, and thought they could win over the 9th Irregulars. This distinguished regiment had given many officers, European and Native, to the 8th; the uniforms of the corps were similar and great friendship existed between the men, who were in constant communication, although the influence of Ressaldars Major Bahadur Ali, and Wazir Khan prevented the 9th being outwardly disloyal. In the afternoon, in a downpour of rain, about two squadrons, 8th Irregulars, riding at "The walk," approached Hills's picket in a column of Threes (*i.e.* six abreast) without attracting the notice of Europeans, until they were close up, when Lieutenant Hills realised what was about to happen. Ordering his two guns to unlimber, to gain time, he, a man of small stature but large heart, rode alone into the leading "Threes" (6 men). The European cavalry escort to the guns (except the officer and 2 privates), and the detachment of 1 gun, fled like cowards. Hills cut down one trooper, hit another, and was then rolled over with his horse, over which the enemy galloped. He struggled up, and, while recovering his sword, which was 10 yards away, was attacked by 2 mounted rebels and 1 on foot. He seized one assailant's spear by the left hand and hit two other men, the first with a shot from a pistol, and the second with a deep gash with the sword. The first antagonist again attacked him, but was cut down. The foot-man now wrenched Hills's sword away, and though Hills hit him many times with his fist, the subaltern encumbered by a heavy cloak, fell. He would have been killed had

not Major Tombs rushed in and shot the rebel. The raiders cutting down the detachment had now galloped on, and the two officers were looking at the dead and wounded gunners lying with one overturned gun, when a rebel, returning on foot towards Sabzimandi, passed the Mound and Hills ran at him. The Sawar (trooper) shouted, "Let me alone, or I'll kill you, as you killed our leader, my father!" Hills for answer feinted with a cut, and as the mutineer guarding, cut back, Hills lunged forward with a thrust, and overbalanced. The Hindustani jumping lightly aside, cut the Welshman down by a blow on the head, and was about to kill him when Major Tombs ran up, full of admiration of the rebel's activity, courage, and swordsmanship. They fought, and the Sawar beating down Tombs's head-guard had cut through his forage cap, when he was run through the body by the major's sword. The rebels swept right through the force and eventually fled back to Dehli, leaving 35 of their men dead in the camp. This wild gallop heralded a serious attack on Sabzimandi, which was maintained till sunset; and though the rebel loss was 500 killed, yet ours was 308, and the mutineers being reinforced daily were not as yet disheartened. July 9

Five days later there was another severe struggle on the same ground, when Brigadier-General Chamberlain led a counter attack under a shower of grape. The troops advanced cheerily till they approached a wall held by the enemy, when they stopped. Chamberlain, calling to the troops to charge, rode straight at the wall, and, the horse rising boldly, landed in the midst of the enemy. He thus carried the position, for the men followed, but he was severely wounded.

These fierce struggles were of almost daily occurrence till August 1, the great Muhammadan festival

of I'd, commemorating Abraham's intended sacrifice of his son. It was determined to mark the day by a sacrifice of all on the Ridge, and brave efforts were made from the afternoon, throughout the night, and till past noon next day, to carry out the intention. In front of a breastwork 500 yards south of Hindu Rao's house 197 dead Sipahis were counted in one place.

From this time on the rebel prospects in the city declined. The Citizens, Courtiers, and Sipahis were all quarrelling. Their principal magazine blew up on August 7, and on the 13th Brigadier-General Showers took Ludlow Castle at the point of the bayonet. This fine mansion, which had been the residence of Mr. Commissioner Fraser, who was murdered in the Palace on May 11, stands half a mile north of the Kashmir Gate, and had been occupied by the rebels, whose battery inflicted much loss on our pickets at Metcalfe House.

During the night, August 11-12, Brigadier-General Showers marched a column down the Flag-Staff Tower road preceded by three companies 1st Bengal (Royal Munster) Fusiliers, in extended order, under Captain Southwell Greville, who had greatly distinguished himself in the sanguinary battles of Firozshah and Sobraon, twelve years earlier. Wounded at Badli-ki-Serai in June, on July 14 he brought away on his back, under close fire, a wounded Sikh who had been abandoned in Sabzimandi.

It was still dark when a rebel sentry, challenging, showed Greville he had got too far to his right, so changing direction he rushed the battery after two rounds only had been fired from it. Private Reagan alone reached a 24-pounder Howitzer, and bayoneted the gunner as he was about to apply his port-fire, but

the other rebel gunners permanently disabled the gallant Fusilier. Captain Greville, who was wounded, secured three other guns just as day broke, and the column reached the battery. The rebel artillerymen stood up, fighting bravely with swords till all were killed, as were many who were sheltering in outhouses. Our casualties were 9 officers and 109 of other ranks.

CHAPTER VII

THE SIEGE OF DEHLI—NICHOLSON ARRIVES
AFTER SUCCESSFULLY CONDUCTING OPERA-
TIONS IN THE PANJAB—HIS CHARACTER—
MAJOR BAIRD SMITH—LIEUTENANT TAYLOR
—ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF THE CITY—
DEATH OF GENERAL JOHN NICHOLSON

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN NICHOLSON rode into the British camp on August 12, preceding the movable column, of which he had taken over command on June 22, when Neville Chamberlain succeeded Colonel Chester as Adjutant-General.

Nicholson was undoubtedly the most remarkable of those heroic men who became famous in the days of our humiliation. He had spent five years in Bannu, and as far back as 1853 Lawrence had enjoined on him the necessity of reporting Border raids; for, with all his grand qualities, he did not write willingly even on matters of duty. He was essentially an "out-of-doors" man, and when, just before the Mutiny, he was employed in the Peshawar district, a Native, expressing his paramount influence, observed: "The sound of his horse's hoofs is heard from Atak to the Khaibar."¹ During his first year in Bannu he was feared and disliked; but this feeling passed away as his activity, his

¹ Equivalent to, say, from Stirling to the Pass of Killiecrankie, 15 N.W. of Dunkeld



JOHN NICHOLSON

From a bust in the East India United Service Club

careful though quick repression of evil deeds, and his extraordinary courage became known. At the end of four years he had turned the raiding, murdering clansmen of a country nearly as big as Wales into a peaceful, law-abiding people; but the law was only fear of this big, handsome, masterful man, whom one set of fanatics deified.

Nicholson on his arrival at Pindi had a long and exciting argument with the Chief Commissioner, who encouraged his subordinates to speak out freely. Lawrence had written to his deputy, Edwardes, at Peshawar early in June, proposing in the event of June 1857 disaster at Dehli to offer the Peshawar Valley to the Amir of Kabul, and asking for the advice of General Cotton, and Nicholson. All three scouted the mere suggestion, but Lawrence wrote again urging his arguments, which he sent to the Governor-General, who answered, after much postal delay, "Hold on to Peshawar to the last. Give up nothing."

The column which Nicholson took over consisted of 2 batteries and 1 battalion of Europeans and the 33rd and 35th Bengal Infantry, both only awaiting an opportunity to mutiny when nearer Dehli. The day the force reached Philur the Europeans, who were leading, were formed on the parade ground before the Native corps arrived, and as the 35th, in column, passed round a large building they came in front of 12 guns, and the battalion. Surprised, the 35th Infantry obeyed the order to pile arms, and the 33rd, arriving later, was similarly disarmed. A Staff officer, Lieutenant Sleigh (now V.C., Field-Marshal Earl) Roberts, conveyed the order to the colonel of the battalion, who, being in complete ignorance of the mutinous intentions of his men, was overwhelmed with astonishment. He exclaimed, "What! disarm my

regiment?" and on the order being repeated, burst into tears. The Chief Commissioner readily gave his covering approval to Nicholson's act in disarming the two battalions; but he pointed out that a report, however brief, should have been made of the reasons for the step.

Before Nicholson left Pindi with the column, he urged the Chief Commissioner to give him the only remaining European battalion in the chain of communication between Peshawar and Lahor, a distance of 250 miles. Lawrence refused; nevertheless, Nicholson on leaving him urged General Gowan, who was in command, to withdraw all Europeans from the Panjab, with or without the consent of the Chief Commissioner, to whom Nicholson wrote at the same time stating what he had done. Lawrence's reply to this insubordinate and unwise proposition was truly magnanimous; for he assumed Nicholson's intentions were good, nevertheless he maintained his decision.

The movable column, having done its work at Philur, was back at Amritsar on July 5, for the state of the Panjab caused much anxiety. Nicholson heard that the attempted disarming of a battalion at Jhelam was a failure, so he disarmed the 59th Bengal Regiment, though with much regret, as the men had behaved well. He learnt at daylight on the 10th that a wing of the 9th Cavalry and the 46th Bengal Regiment had mutinied at Sialkot. Many of the residents escaped to an old fort. A Sawar, commonly supposed to be the general's orderly, mortally wounded the general as he rode into it, but the murdered people were generally cavalry officers and civilians, for the infantry in many cases protected their officers, offering two of them liberal pay if they would command them at Dehli against the British Government.

Nicholson dismounted and disarmed the wing of

Irregular cavalry, and learning that the Sialkot mutineers were moving southwards, he had collected every Native pony-cart in the vicinity, he marched at 9 p.m. on the 10th for Gurdaspur to overtake them. The 52nd (2nd Oxfordshire) Light Infantry, and 180 Panjabis, by riding in turns, covered 26 miles without a halt; but at daylight they were still 18 miles from their objective. After a meal of bread with rum and milk, the force marched again at 10 a.m. in blazing sun, from which some Europeans sank unconscious. The artillery, Dawe's battery, and 3 guns of Bouchier's, reached Gurdaspur at 3 p.m., the infantry only at 6 o'clock. Nicholson apparently was untirable. While his troops were resting, he strolled into the Bazaar and his keen eyes fell on two men dressed as villagers. Their bearing indicated to him a military training, and lest they should send information of his arrival to the enemy, he had them arrested, when they admitted they were Sipahis of the 46th Regiment.

At 9 a.m. next day Nicholson marched towards Trimu Ghaut, where, as his spies informed him, the mutineers were crossing the Ravi River. The opposing forces met a mile from the left or south bank. For ten minutes the rebels fought well, the Sipahis reaching the guns in several charges; but in half an hour shrapnel and grape-shot sent them running back to the river, followed by the Panjabis. The 52nd (Oxfordshire) men were exhausted, several dying from fatigue. The gun teams also were jaded; nevertheless, the guns were dragged to the bank and killed many rebels. Those who escaped grape-shot and drowning took refuge on an island, while the 52nd marched back to Gurdaspur.

At daylight on the 16th the guns opened fire on the enemy's one gun on the island, while the 52nd were

ferried over, landing out of sight of the Sipahis. Nicholson led the advance, and with a downstroke of his sword on the shoulder of the mutinous sergeant serving the gun, literally cut him into two parts. All the mutineers died, some by bayonet, others by drowning in the swollen river. Nicholson spent the first ten days after his arrival in the British camp outside Dehli, inspecting all the outposts and in a close examination of the military position, guided by Lieutenant Alec (now General, Sir) Taylor, Bengal Engineers.

THE BATTLE OF NAJAFGARH

August On August 24, 5000 rebels, with 18 guns, marched out of Dehli to intercept the second Siege train coming from Firuzpur, and Nicholson, with 2000 men and 2 batteries, went in pursuit. Rain fell in torrents, and the artillery had to man-handle their guns through two wide swamps. The wearied soldiers were halted at noon for the day; but Nicholson, hearing the rebels were at Najafgarh, 12 miles ahead, marched on till sunset, when he found the enemy, with 13 guns, posted on the far side of a swollen canal. Nicholson formed for attack, and, fording the canal with much difficulty, rode down the line, and ordered the men not to fire until they were close to the position. After a brief but effective cannonade, the general led the infantry forward through a swamp, he himself riding direct on a strongly-built Serai (Rest-house), the key of the enemy's position. Many soldiers fell under grape-shot and musketry in the next 200 yards, but no man fired till Nicholson, 30 yards in front, gave the order to charge. After a brief bayonet struggle, the Serai was taken and its defenders killed. Then the troops swept along the rear of the position, and captured all

the guns. Lieutenant Lumsden, who commanded the Panjabis, Coke being wounded, stormed the village, with equal success. Later on Lumsden with several of his men were slain in an unsuccessful attempt to storm a hamlet, which was evacuated during the night. Nicholson's victory effectually stopped further field operations of the enemy, whose brigade, consisting of the mutineers of the garrison of Nimach, in Rajputana, was broken up. Nicholson estimated his foe as between 3000 and 4000, others put it at 7000 men; but the Bareli brigade, though it came out of Dehli, was not engaged.

Nicholson's arrival on the Ridge was fortunate in many ways, for Major Baird Smith, the senior Engineer officer, though as resolute as ever, had been wounded, and the general in command, who was entirely guided by him, was ill, as were many of his men, 2500 being in hospital; of these 1100 were Europeans, out of a total of 5000 white men present on the Ridge. Baird Smith, a talented Bengal Engineer officer, was at Rurki when the Meerut outbreak occurred. By tactful arrangements he averted a rising of the Sappers at his station, where many European families lived, though, on arrival at Meerut, the battalion rose and killed their commanding officer. The Sappers were then dispersed by the European garrison, 50 falling by sword and grape-shot. Baird Smith, finding on his arrival in the camp before Dehli, early in July, that there was no Siege train or field park of engineer essentials for a siege, wrote a memorandum to Sir Henry Barnard urging an immediate assault; but the general died without seeing the paper. General Reed, Barnard's successor, who also had long been ill, gave over the command to Brigadier-General Wilson on July 17. Our troops had been on the defensive for five weeks, and had been constantly

attacked. Three generals had succumbed, and both senior Staff officers had been severely wounded. The question of retirement had been mooted, and both Neville Chamberlain and Baird Smith no longer advocated an immediate assault. Nevertheless, the latter impressed on Wilson, the day he assumed command, the paramount importance of holding on, writing, "To raise the siege would be fatal to our national interests." To Smith's persevering insistence on this point the final success was due. The general accepted his chief Engineer's views to breach the walls, and then to assault. Later the general hesitated, and recorded many reasons for awaiting reinforcements from Calcutta before undertaking operations "on the hazard of a die." Baird Smith was incapacitated from movement by a wound, and grievous illness, but he firmly maintained his opinion, and the general eventually, but reluctantly, assented, recording, "I yield to the judgment of the chief Engineer."

Major Baird Smith was suffering from scurvy in the mouth, and indeed all over his frame. A slight wound on his ankle from the fragment of a shell had turned into a black mass, and amputation of the foot was apprehended. Incessant intestinal complaints compelled the use of continuous doses of opium, but he wrote with cheerful humour, "The quantities I have taken would have done credit to my father-in-law, De Quincey." No amount of suffering, however, ever influenced his calm, determined judgment, and the city eventually fell in consequence of his firm resolve.

Fortunately, the next senior officer, Bengal Engineers, Lieutenant (now General, Sir) Alexander Taylor was not only one of the bravest, but one of the best of the inspiring band of young officers in the corps; active, cheerful, persevering, resourceful, he and Baird Smith

worked in the closest touch, and the junior in carrying out his gifted superior's plans, was seen and admired by all on the Ridge. He guided Brigadier-General Nicholson all over the advanced position, and both narrowly escaped death one evening. At the time Ludlow Castle was occupied at night by the enemy. The two officers were on top of the house at sunset, their horses being held by orderlies, when a picket of the mutineers marched into the enclosure gate, and they were nearly captured.

Nicholson was in daily communication with Taylor, who consulted him in drawing up a detailed plan for the assault. It was natural, therefore, he should say, the night before it was delivered, "If I survive to-morrow I will let all the world know that Alec Taylor took Dehli."

Sir John Lawrence had many correspondents in the camp on the Ridge, and recorded later: "After John Nicholson, Alec Taylor did more than any other man to take Dehli." Nicholson's masterful genius no doubt strengthened the vacillating mind of the general in command, although he would not accept Baird Smith's suggestion of calling him in to discuss the question, and Taylor, working under Baird Smith, practically sited and supervised the construction of all the breaching batteries; but neither Nicholson nor Taylor could have got into Dehli until the artillerymen had breached the walls. Major James (later General, K.C.B.) Brind opened the first siege battery, playing on the Mori Bastion, and later, when Major F. Turner became too ill to stand up, Brind supervised all the batteries commanded by Majors Scott, Tombs, Kaye, and other devoted gunners, who with volunteers from the cavalry, and some Sikhs, beat down the fire of a city protected by 170 cannon. Brind, regardless of

danger, was indefatigable, and his name was on every man's tongue in the camp during the bombardment. Nevertheless, Brind and his brave associates could not have breached the walls of the city had not the chiefs of the Cis Satlaj, or Protected Sikh States, kept the road open from the Panjab.

Early in September the last of the reinforcements stripped from the Panjab by Sir John Lawrence arrived, and the actual siege began. The artillerymen, inadequate in numbers, were assisted by volunteers from the 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabiniers), 9th Lancers, and some Sikhs who had served the artillery against us in the Satlaj ten years earlier. During the night, September 7-8, a battery for 10 guns, which had been traced out under Hindu Rao's house, 700 yards from the Mori Bastion, to fire on it and on the Kashmir Bastion, was commenced by moonlight. Hundreds of camels and oxen carried down loads of gabions (rough cylindrical baskets open at the end), and fascines (long faggots). The Bengal Engineers, a noble band of young men, hazarded their lives freely, 22 out of 31 employed being killed or wounded, 8 of whom became casualties in the assault.

This battery deceived the rebels as to the British plans, and during the night of September 10-11 batteries were constructed at Ludlow Castle, 500 yards from the Kashmir Gate, and in the Kudsia Bagh, 160 yards from the Water Bastion. The latter work was constructed under incessant fire, which killed 39 Native labourers one night; but their comrades persevered without flinching. From the 11th to sunset on the 13th a storm of projectiles was hurled against the walls near the Water and Kashmir Bastions, and the breaches were reported as practicable, but they had been only rendered so by a loss of 327 men.

The general in command was of opinion that the Water Bastion was still unassailable, but he was reassured by Major Baird Smith.

THE ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF THE CITY

Before the assembling of a Council of War, held to consider the question of assault, Nicholson had resolved, if the general still hesitated, to propose his supersession in favour of Colonel Campbell, of the 52nd Light Infantry (2nd Oxfordshire) Regiment; but Baird Smith's advice had been accepted, and Nicholson was put in orders to lead the 1st column in the assault on September 14.

The Europeans had suffered greatly from bullets and climate; the 52nd had only 242 Effectives out of 600 who had joined with Nicholson three weeks earlier. It could only furnish 200 men for the storming party, and the six British battalions did not average 275 each, totalling 1700 men. In all some 6500 men, divided into 5 columns, were to attack 30,000 disciplined Sipahis, standing behind high walls.

At midnight the assaulting columns paraded, and by lantern-light the orders were read, the officers pledging their word of honour on sword hilts, the men promising to obey them. "No prisoners to be taken, no quarter to mutineers, but care to be exercised that no women or children were harmed. No plundering, no man to fall out to help wounded." Before the 75th (1st Gordon Highlanders) Regiment advanced, Father Bertrand, after having ministered to his own flock, approaching in vestments, asked permission to bless them, saying, "We may differ in religion, but an old clergyman's blessing can do nothing but good," and with uplifted hands he invoked a blessing on the

battalion, with a prayer for its success, and for mercy on the souls of those who might fall.

The time named for the assault was 3 a.m., but the battalions only fell in at that hour and then marched to Ludlow Castle, where the scaling ladders were placed ready for the columns, the King's Royal Rifles intended to act as a covering party, being in front of all.

The breaches, practicable over night, had been partly filled up by the rebels with fascines (long faggots) and gabions (cylindrical baskets open at the ends), so the Siege batteries reopened fire for half an hour, and when they ceased, soon after six o'clock, General Nicholson gave the signal to advance. He had divided the weak half-battalions of 75th (Gordon Highlanders) Regiment and 1st Bengal (Royal Munster) Fusiliers into two columns, but they came together as they climbed up the breach. When the escalading parties ran forward in columns of fours, cheering, as they came out in the open from the Kudsia Bagh, a heavy fire was poured on them. Over the summit of the wide gap in the walls were crowds of black faces, surmounted by white turbans, with the rising sun glistening on the Sipahis' bayonets.

Sept. 14
1857

Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert fell wounded on the glacis at the head of the 75th stormers, but Captain Brookes at once replaced him. The ladder carriers were knocked down three times, but other men picked up their loads; as the stormers climbed up the breach their faces were scorched by the flames of the mutineers' muskets, fired just above them. Lieutenant R. S. FitzGerald, the first up the breach, fell dead, but there was now no pause. The 75th (1st Gordon Highlanders) Regiment and 1st Bengal (Royal Munster) Fusiliers reached the top of the wall, 11 feet thick, simultaneously, and then the struggle for the mastery on

the ramparts was furious. The British soldiers greatly outnumbered, fought with indescribable fierceness. The orders had enjoined no mercy was to be shown to mutineers in action, and every Briton had "Cawnpur" in his mind; moreover, in the hearts of some of the assailants there was a personal instinctive craving for vengeance, to be satisfied only in slaying or in being slain.

When the Bengal Fusiliers paraded at 3 a.m. several volunteers joined their ranks for the assault. They were non-commissioned officers and others who had been employed in departments at Dehli before the Mutiny, and who in the massacres, May 11-16, had lost all they loved best on earth. These volunteers as they bayoneted, or with clubbed rifle-butt brained a mutineer, were heard muttering with compressed lips, "That's for my wife!" or "That's for my little children!"

Sept. 14
1857

Nevertheless, these strenuous fighters were chivalrous in dealing with the feeble. An officer, 1st Bengal (Royal Munster) Fusiliers, writing on September 18, 1857, a description of the assault to a wounded brother-officer who was in hospital at Dugshai on the Himalayas, mentions the care of the British soldiers to avoid injuring the families of the Sipahis, adding, "Several of the women ran up to our men" for protection.

General Nicholson, accompanied by Lieutenant Taylor, Bengal Engineers, climbed up the breach to the east of the 75th Regiment, in front of a section of the Bengal Fusiliers, and when the ramparts above the breach had been cleared he led some companies of both regiments on to the church, which stood 150 yards south of the breach; with some adjoining houses it was easily captured, and with but trifling loss. The general then, after providing for the defence of the buildings in the north-east corner of the city, ordered the 75th (1st Gordon Highlanders)

Regiment and 1st Bengal (Royal Munster) Fusiliers to concentrate at the Kashmir Gate main guard, preparatory to advancing on to the Kabul Gate.

Before the assault was delivered Major Jacob, commanding the Fusiliers, had ordered Lieutenant G. Money, who led the two companies detailed as stormers, to push along the ramparts to the westward, as soon as he got inside the place. When the enemy had been driven off the ramparts near the breach, Lieutenant Money, not knowing the general had taken the storming parties southwards, to the church, moved westward, followed only by Colour-Sergeant Holford, and parts of three companies of the Fusiliers. These passed down a lane which separated the city from the walls, until coming to a ramp (sloping roadway), they reascended to the ramparts, and after some hard fighting, drove the mutineers towards the Mori Gate.

Half-way to the Mori Bastion, the enemy had a 12-pounder in action on the ramparts, against the 4th column (Major Reid's), which had been repulsed. The gunners seeing Lieutenant Money's party, hurriedly turned the piece towards the oncoming Fusiliers, loading it with grape-shot. Then there was a race for life. The Fusiliers ran towards it at speed, but were still a few yards distant, when the command "Fire" was given, and the gun detachment jumped aside as the port-fire was laid on the vent. In the excitement of the moment, No. 2, the second captain, had omitted to prick the cartridge, which did not explode, and in less than a minute the whole gun's detachment were bayoneted. Lieutenant Money, with his breathless Fusiliers, ran on to the Mori Bastion, from which a battery was firing heavily on the British siege batteries.

The rebel gunners were so intent on their work

that the approach of the Fusiliers was unnoticed until they charged into the bastion. The gunners had no firearms; many, panic-stricken, dropped through the embrasures into the main ditch; others bravely sought death as they ran at the Fusiliers sword in hand. A stalwart Hindustani pressed Lieutenant Money vigorously, and with a sweep of a heavy curved sabre had knocked aside the officer's small Regulation sword when Private Patrick Flynn charged. The gunner jumped lightly aside, and evading the point of the bayonet, caught the weapon under his left arm as he cut at Flynn's head. Each combatant was determined to slay his opponent. As they grappled, the gunner's sword hilt striking Flynn's head, stunned him momentarily, and the rifle dropped from his hands to the ground. The Irishman recovering his senses, clenched his fists, stepping back a pace in order to put the weight of his body into the blow, planted it between the Hindustani's eyes, who fell backwards, heels over head, and was then killed by the officer.

Lieutenant Money held a corner of the bastion, but having but few men was hardly pressed, until a squadron of the 9th Lancers, riding up to the bastion outside the walls, offered assistance. A dozen Lancers who had been working in the Siege batteries, dismounted, and having climbed up the breach, worked a gun in the battery, helping Money materially.

He had repulsed three determined attacks, in which two of the Lancers acting as gunners were wounded, before Colonel Greathed, with detachments of the 8th (King's Liverpool) Regiment, 75th (1st Gordon Highlanders) Regiment, 2nd Bengal (Royal Munster) Fusiliers, and the 2nd Panjabis (56th Panjab Rifles) came up, followed by the remainder of the second column under Brigadier W. Jones, C.B., who had left

detachments to hold the houses between the Water Bastion and the church.

When the 2nd column, passing through the Siege batteries, guided by Lieutenants Greathed and Hovenden, Bengal Engineers, advanced on the breach, the two officers, and 29 out of 39 of the ladder party were shot down in a few minutes. Nevertheless, the stormers of the 8th (King's Liverpool) Regiment persevered, and after two failures, owing to the foremost men being knocked down, the ladders were successfully raised, and held in position while Captain Baynes, 2 lieutenants, and 70 men ascended. Another party climbed up the breach, and the two then joining, killed every mutineer who ventured to stand up to fight. The Brigadier then moved along the ramparts to the Mori Bastion, and thence on the Kabul Gate, on which he ordered Private Loughnan, 61st (2nd Gloucestershire) Regiment, to hoist the column flag.

Shortly after the 2nd column reached the Mori Bastion Major Jacob, with the greater part of his Effectives, who numbered only 250 all ranks when they paraded at 3 a.m., came up. He had been delayed in moving westwards, in order to capture some houses near the Kashmir Gate. He now advanced towards the Burn Bastion, which overlooked the Lahor Gate, and passed down a hollow lane, running about 10 feet below the ramparts, and separating them from the city. The roadway varied from 10 to 12 feet in width, except where at every 30 or 40 yards a buttress supporting the ramparts narrowed it to 4 or 5 feet. The mutineers had 3 guns in action; two on the ramparts and one in the lane, the entrance to which was commanded by all three pieces.

Major Jacob, advancing at the head of his Fusiliers,

was mortally wounded when approaching the defile. Although suffering terrible pain in his shattered thigh, he resolutely refused all aid, ordering his men, who wished to carry him to the rear, "Let me lie; go on and capture the guns."

Captain (Lieutenant-Colonel) Southwell Greville, wounded at Badli-ki-Serai and in capturing the battery at Ludlow Castle, who had only left the hospital to join the assaulting column, assumed the command of the Fusiliers, some of whom were in the lane and some on the rampart, immediately above it. Two of the enemy's guns were nearly equidistant, but the second one on the ramparts was retired 100 yards, and its detachment was protected by a screen of corrugated iron.

Southwell Greville led his men forward under a heavy fire, but they captured the piece in the lane, and that above it. "Spike it!" he shouted; and after a momentary hesitation, Sergeant Jordan, Corporal Keefe, Privates Bradley and Murphy, under a shower of grape-shot from the gun a hundred yards farther back, did so by breaking the point of a ramrod into the vent, and then threw down the rod to Captain Greville, who spiked the gun in the lane.

The 2nd column had been for over an hour at the Kabul Gate, and the 75th (1st Gordon Highlanders) Regiment and 1st Bengal (Royal Munster) Fusiliers were resting near the two guns Captain Greville had captured, when General Nicholson, who had been reconnoitring the position outside the walls from the Shah Bastion, which stood between the Mori and Kabul Gates, came up, between 12 noon and 1 p.m., and decided on an advance through the lane, and on the ramparts. By this time the flat roofs of the houses on the south or city side of the lane had been

strongly occupied by the enemy, and the screened gun on the ramparts was still in action. General Nicholson's Staff officer, Captain Seymour Blane, 52nd Light Infantry, adopting Captain Greville's views, suggested that the men should break through the houses until they could outflank the screened gun. This was feasible, as the buildings at the east end of the lane were all made of unburnt bricks, although those nearer the Burn Bastion were solidly built. General Nicholson dissented; he was impressed by the desirability of opening the Lahor Gate to the repulsed 4th column. His courage and endurance were superhuman. Moreover, while the troops under his immediate command had easily captured the church and adjoining houses, he had seen nothing of the strenuous hand-to-hand fighting by which the 75th and the Fusiliers had cleared nearly a mile of the ramparts from the Water Bastion-Kashmir breaches up to the hollow lane leading to the Burn Bastion. He could not realise the exhaustion which comes over men who having been nine hours under arms have been for a long time engaged in personal combats, and he gave the order, "1st Fusiliers, charge down the lane—75th, charge along the ramparts, and carry the position above." Both corps led by their officers ran forward. Lieutenants Butler, Speke, and a dozen Fusiliers reached the Burn Bastion, and attempted to climb its gorge (back entrance), but it had been bricked up and loopholed. When Lieutenant Butler had ascended a few feet he recognised success there was impossible, and ordered his men to drop down, and take cover. When he was about to descend, two Sipahis thrust at him from adjoining loopholes, and he narrowly escaped, each bayonet passing close to his body, but by firing through the two loopholes he

retired unscathed except for a blow on the head from a heavy stone dropped by a mutineer.

The charge on the ramparts also failed there as well as in the lane—the soldiers recoiling under showers of grape-shot and musket balls directed on them by men they could not reach, and the Fusiliers in the lane took cover under the buttresses to reload. Many officers had been hit; the few remaining Effectives were scattered; but Nicholson, measuring all men by his own death-despising spirit, ran forward in the lane, calling on the men to follow him. Before those who were at hand had collected, the general was many yards in front, waving his sword on high and cheering on the Fusiliers, when he was shot through the chest. Then 8 officers, including Jacob and Greville, and 50 Fusiliers, having fallen in that death-trap, the impossible task was abandoned.

The 3rd column, commanded by Colonel Campbell, with 240 of his own men 52nd (Oxfordshire Light Infantry), and 750 Native infantry, was directed to assault the Kashmir Gate after it had been blown in. The column was preceded by Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, Sergeants J. Smith, Carmichael, and Madoo Singh, Bengal Engineers, who advanced under a very hot fire. A wicket gate leading on to the drawbridge was found to be open; and, although the footway had been removed, Home, followed by the front section, 4 men all carrying 25 lb. of gunpowder, crossed on the beams, and, placing the bags against the great double gates, jumped down into the ditch unhurt, though the Sipahis fired from the top of the gateway and through the open wicket gate. Lieutenant Salkeld and his section laid their bags, and, though mortally wounded, Salkeld handed his port-fire to Sergeant Burgess, ordering him to light the match. The sergeant was killed before he

could do so. Sergeant Carmichael then lighted it, but in doing so was also mortally wounded, and Sergeant Smith, thinking he had failed, ran forward and was picking up the port-fire when, seeing the match was alight, he jumped down into the ditch just as the explosion occurred. It unhinged and partly blew in the wicket gate, thereby rendering ingress by it more difficult, but produced no effect on the massive doors, and in the rattle of musketry and roar of many cannon the noise was unheard by the stormers who were listening for it, as their signal to assault.

By order of Lieutenant Home, Bengal Engineers, Bugler Hawthorne, 52nd Light Infantry, sounded the "Regimental call," and "Advance," but this also was unnoticed, either by the storming party, or by the main body. Colonel Campbell had, however, seen though he could not hear the explosion, and advancing sent on the storming party under Captain Bayley. He was knocked down with a severe wound as he moved forward. Lieutenant C. K. (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Crosse, who was in command of the Support, replaced Captain Bayley, and followed by Corporal Taylor passed over the beams of the bridge, and was the first to enter the gate.

As he crawled inside he saw an 18-pounder gun with its muzzle nearly touching the gate, the gun detachment killed by the explosion lying dead, and one Sipahi, at whom Crosse fired a revolver but ineffectually. The mutineer with his musket covered Crosse, but had not yet fired when Corporal Taylor, passing under the forepart of the gun, drove his bayonet through him. The ingress of the column was necessarily slow, but simultaneously with the 1st and 2nd column, guided by Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, it moved on with but comparatively slight

opposition towards the centre of the city. A gun commanded the street up which the column was advancing, and Colonel Campbell detached a flanking party up a side street against it, but the gun was rushed and captured by Lieutenant Bradshaw and a small party, although the officer was killed.

The column then advanced unopposed through the Begam Bagh (Queen's Garden) to within a hundred yards of the Jama Masjid, a mile from the Kashmir Gate. This mosque was unassailable without artillery, or explosives, and the houses near it on both sides of the street being strongly occupied, Colonel Campbell halted for half an hour, hoping the other columns might support him, and then fell back for half a mile on the Begam Bagh. The enemy had collected in the neighbourhood, and Colonel Campbell after holding the garden under heavy fire for one and a half hours, ascertaining the other columns had not got beyond the Kabul Gate, retired about noon to the church.

The 4th column, under Major Reid, was to consist of any European pickets which might be available near Hindu Rao's house, the Gurkhas and Guide Corps, in all 850 men, and the Kashmir contingent, 1200 strong. About 400 of the latter were detached to occupy the Idgah, but had not got so far when several thousand rebels, issuing from the Lahor Gate, made a strong counter attack. Reid, severely wounded in the head, was carried off on a Gurkha's back, while the Kashmir men detached towards the Idgah, were badly beaten, losing their 4 guns. Reid's main body had guns, but no artillerymen to work them. Had not General Wilson, providing against what actually happened, sent Hope Grant to watch the Lahor and Ajmir

Gates, a disaster might have occurred. Grant, in spite of heavy losses, maintained an advanced position in support of No. 4 column, until Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5, the Reserve column, were established inside the walls, extending from the Water Bastion to the vicinity of the Kabul Gate.

Though General Nicholson wished to lie where he was till Dehli was taken, he was carried to the Kashmir Gate and later to the camp. By nightfall the troops had got a foothold in the city, but with a loss of 66 officers killed and wounded and 1104 men, or 2 in 9 of the force. Many who are mentioned neither here nor in any published accounts the writer has perused gave up their lives in noble ways that day, and earlier in the siege, for the Empire.

When the general in command rode down to the church, to the south of the Kashmir Gate, he was disappointed at the result of the day's fighting. He knew General Nicholson was mortally wounded, he knew of Reid's wound, and that his column had been beaten back; and had received false reports that General Hope Grant and Major Tombs had been killed. He was ill, physically exhausted, and contemplated retiring to the Ridge. Major Baird Smith was standing near him, in front of Colonel Skinner's house, when the general asked, "What is to be done? Can we hold what we have taken?" He received an emphatic reply: "We must do so." This resolution was supported by a strong written expression of opinion, sent by Neville Chamberlain from the Hindu Rao position, and Captain Edwin Johnson, an excellent Staff officer, who being thoroughly trusted by the general, exerted all his influence in support of Baird Smith's advice.

There was little satisfactory work effected on the 15th, the advanced troops finding wine and spirit stores, to the temptations of which some succumbed.

Early on the 16th the enemy evacuated the Kishanganj suburb, and within the city our troops captured with trifling loss the magazine, repulsing a counter attack the rebels made on it. The general, whose desponding nature prevented his being encouraged by the success, wrote on the 16th: "I find myself getting weaker and weaker every day, mind and body being quite worn out."

The engineers reported the column commanders failed to get the best value out of the working parties who were breaking through houses, obtained an order that the troops at the Kabul Gate should furnish 500 men to work under their orders, and on the 19th real progress was made under Lieutenant A. Taylor, who although shot in the chest, returned to duty after two days' rest. By outflanking the works possession was gained of the Lahor Bastion, and then of the Burn Bastion.

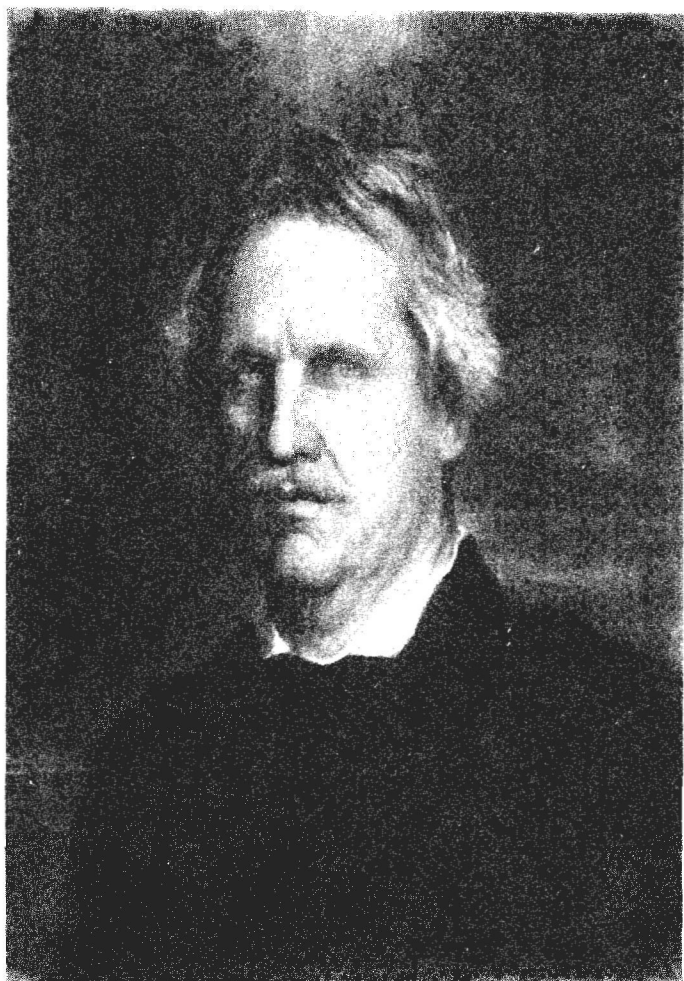
On the 20th the Jama Masjid was easily captured, and in the afternoon the general took up his quarters in the Imperial Palace.

Most of the mutineers were now seeking safety in flight, but many proved themselves worthy of the British officers under whom the greater number had been trained. A sentry over the King's Palace awaited death at his post, and Lord Roberts, who took part in the rush for the Palace gates, narrates that in a long passage crowded with wounded Native soldiers, a private, 37th Bengal Infantry, stood motionless at "The Ready" till the stormers were near, when, levelling his musket, he fired; then, charging, he met death on the bayonets of the King's Royal Rifles.

Salkeld, when dying, received through the general's aide-de-camp a bit of red ribbon as an earnest of the Victoria Cross, but the sorely wounded man, realising his state, only murmured, "It will be gratifying to them at home." Daily more and more of the city was seized, and on the 20th the King was taken prisoner. On the 23rd John Nicholson died at the age of thirty-five as nobly as he had lived, consoled by the thought that Dehli was once more in our possession.

It was shown earlier in this chapter that Lord Canning and even Sir John Lawrence miscalculated the magnitude of the task set before our troops at Dehli. It is not surprising, therefore, that less well informed people in India, and all those in distant England, entirely failed to appreciate the continuous hard fighting by which the British position on the Ridge was maintained, and the brilliant courage displayed in the assault of the breaches. On the 15th and 16th it was evident that even such determined warriors could not fight in streets for several days with unabated vigour, but after a rest, which was essential, the irresistible dash, which ensured success, was again shown.

The minds of all in India were anxiously fixed on Lucknow, and this anxiety deepened by regret for the death of the heroic Henry Lawrence, lessened the interest felt in the capture of Dehli. It is probable that not one officer in a thousand even now realises the fact brought out in a paper written by Major (later Field-Marshal Sir Wyllie) Norman, that the casualties in action amongst the troops at Dehli, exclusive of the Jhind and Kashmir contingents, exceeded all those in Havelock's, Windham's, Sir Hugh Rose's, and Sir Colin Campbell's operations combined.



LORD LAWRENCE

From the portrait by G. F. Watts, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery

CHAPTER VIII

THE MUTINY, AND REVOLT AT LUCKNOW (LAKHNAO)

THE capture of Dehli and the surrender of the King averted risings in the north of India. It was entirely owing to Sir John Lawrence's noble and statesmanlike unselfishness, in stripping the Panjab of nearly all its white and its loyal coloured troops, that Dehli was taken, and its fall helped materially, not only to subdue the revolt in Hindustan, but to show Native rulers in Central and Southern India, what the sagacious and loyal Maharajah of Gwalior perceived from the first outbreak, that the white men would win in the struggle for supremacy. Sir John Lawrence could not, however, have sent to Dehli the finest fighting Panjabis but for the loyalty of the Sikh aristocracy, and this had been secured by Sir Henry Lawrence's generous consideration of their rights, consideration regarded at one time by John Lawrence as excessive, though he gave it himself to a great extent when he became alone responsible for governing the country.

The city of Lucknow, of 300,000 inhabitants, 42 miles north-east of Cawnpur, stands on the right or south bank of the Gumti River. A number of palatial buildings and the cantonment stood between the river and the city, which covered 3 miles by 2 miles of ground. There were living in its crowded streets a vast number of

unemployed Natives, who had lived on the Nawab's extravagant Court, and thousands of disbanded Irregular soldiery. The garrison consisted of 750 Europeans, and 7000 Native troops.

Sir Henry Lawrence, whose health had given way, was going home, in March 1857, when Lord Canning sent him to rule over Oudh. Major-General Sir James Outram, whose views on Native affairs resembled those of Sir Henry Lawrence, had been obliged to go home on sick furlough after two months' work as Chief Commissioner. His successor, whose place Lawrence took, though a good Revenue officer, was not a successful Ruler. Lawrence worked hard all through April to inspire his subordinates with his own conciliatory opinions and address. Mixing freely with Natives he soon acquired a more accurate knowledge of the gravity of the situation than could be obtained at Lahor, Agra, and Calcutta. When the outbreaks occurred at Meerut and Dehli, recognising the impossibility of holding Oudh with the few white soldiers available, he declined to act on the advice which many pressed on him to disarm all Native soldiers, and summoned to Lucknow the pensioners of Bengal infantry, and of the former Nawab's artillery. His forecast of the Mutiny was remarkably accurate. In speaking to his aide-de-camp, he said, "Nearly the whole army will go, but not, I think, the Sikhs. In every Native battalion there are some loyal Sipahis whom we should try to retain."

He selected an old fortress, the Machchi Bhawan; and the buildings grouped around the Chief Commissioner's house on the Gumti, called "The Residency," as defensive posts; and in them he stored vast quantities of grain and European stores, cannon, powder, small arm ammunition, and as much treasure as he could

April 1857

get in from the districts. He also removed obstructions to a clear field of fire, and brought the Native battery from cantonments into the barracks of the 32nd (1st Duke of Cornwall L.I.) Regiment.

On May 3, after nightfall, Sir Henry disarmed the 7th Oudh Infantry, and on the 12th publicly rewarded some Native officers, who had given him valuable information of an intended outbreak. On the 14th he heard the Meerut-Dehli news, and on the 17th he occupied three main positions, and brought all the European families into the Residency, assuming the military command on May 19.

On May 30 Sir Henry and his Staff were dining at the Residency when an officer observed, that he May 1857
had been told by a Sipahi, that at the 9 o'clock gun there would be an outbreak, and, punctually at 9 p.m., firing began. The horses were then ordered; and, as the Chief Commissioner and his Staff were waiting on the steps of the Residency, the Native captain bringing up the guard asked, "Shall I load?" "Yes," was the reply; and the muskets, on the word "cap," were in a line with the Chief and the Staff, whose forms stood out clearly in the glare of burning bungalows. One audacious Sipahi might then have settled the question of Lucknow. Sir Henry said, "I am going to drive those villains away; at your peril guard this house well till I return." It was the only building left intact in a burnt and looted cantonment.

The Chief Commissioner placed the 32nd (Duke of Cornwall L.I.) Regiment and a battery in position to cut the mutineers off from the city. As the 71st Bengal Infantry advanced on the parade ground opening fire, they were dispersed by case-shot. Passing round by the rear, they came on a picket of the battalion under Lieutenant Grant. The picket stood firm till the

mutineers were close on them, and then dispersed. A Native captain and some Sipahis, 13th and 48th Bengal Infantry, hid Grant under a bed; but one of his own men showed the hiding-place, and Grant was pulled out and slaughtered. Lieutenant Hardinge, in spite of a bayonet-thrust through his arm, with a few faithful troopers, rode through and through, and scattered crowds of mutineers in order to save officers. All the men of the 48th Regiment, known as the most disaffected battalion in the garrison, rose; but a few of the 71st Bengal Infantry marched up, and joined the 32nd (Duke of Cornwall L.I.) Regiment, and 200 of the 13th Bengal Infantry brought in their Colours and Regimental treasure-chest.

When next morning Sir Henry Lawrence attacked the mutineers in the burnt cavalry cantonment at Mudkipur, 3000 yards from the Residency, many of the cavalry deserted, and galloped over to join the mutinous infantry. A few rounds from our guns broke the rebels, who were pursued for 10 miles, some of the faithful troopers bringing in 60 prisoners. That night the Green Standard of the Prophet was raised in the city; but Captain Carnegie quelled an outbreak which ensued with his Native police. The Chief Commissioner wrote cheerfully to the Governor-General, "We are now better off, as we know who are for and who are against us."

During the first week in June the British government in Oudh collapsed. In most, but not in all, stations the mutinous Sipahis killed the Europeans; but at Faisabad the 2nd Bengal Infantry not only protected their officers against the murderous intent of the cavalry, but provided transport for them. From Faisabad about 40 souls—men, women, and children—escaped by the aid of the landowners and peasants,

the remainder being massacred, as were great numbers throughout the country. A Rajput, Rajah Hanmant Singh of Kala Kankar, sheltered the fugitives from Saloni, and escorted them to Allahabad. When thanked by Captain Barrow, who expressed the hope that the Rajah would assist in suppressing the revolt, he replied, "No; you drove out my King. You took from me estates vested in my family for generations. You appealed to me in your misfortunes. I have saved you, but now I take my tenantry to fight against you at Lucknow."

By June 12 all Oudh was in arms, and Sir Henry Lawrence had only about 530 faithful Sipahis in the capital. The Chief Commissioner, who was dangerously ill and much overworked, had appointed a council to carry on the defence. It acted for two days only; for Sir Henry Lawrence, learning that the faithful Sipahis were being disarmed and that the pensioners he had called up had been dispersed, resumed command, and recalled them. That day he arranged to hold the cantonments and the Machchi Bhawan as long as possible, but to concentrate the defence eventually at the Residency. Besides enormous quantities of grain, a large supply of live stock was collected. As the commissariat officer was wounded, no accurate statement of the amount of grain was obtainable later.

Captain Gould Weston, commanding the Mounted police, hearing after nightfall on June 11 that his men were about to mutiny, rode with his orderly to the lines and endeavoured to restrain them; but they galloped off in the dark on the Cawnpur road. Next morning Weston was in the Judge's office when he heard that the 3rd Battalion Oudh Military police, 800 strong, had risen, and marched southwards. Weston, getting on the first horse he could find, galloped after

June 1857

the mutinous men. In Oudh the murdered British officers generally fell by soldiers of other corps, their own men being unwilling to shoot them, and Weston owed his life to his courage. Several men were answering his appeal to them to return to Lucknow with levelled muskets; and he must have fallen had not his intrepidity impressed sympathetically some of the more courageous mutineers, who threw up the muzzles of their comrades' muskets, refusing to allow him to be killed. They told him firmly, however, that their minds were made up, and then marched on. At night a small detachment (2nd Battalion), which had formerly been on guard over Weston's house, left the (3rd) mutinous battalion, came to the Residency and told the story.

On the night of June 28 news of the surrender of Cawnpur was received; and next day, a patrol having reported that the rebels were advancing and had arrived within 8 miles of the city, the cantonments were evacuated.

THE CHINHAT DISASTER

June 30
1857

At 6 a.m. on June 30 Sir Henry Lawrence led out a reconnoissance $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles on the Chinhath road, where he encountered the enemy, reported erroneously to be merely an advanced guard. The British force consisted of 36 Mounted Volunteers, 300 32nd (Cornwall) Regiment, the same number of loyal Bengal Infantry, and 120 Native troopers, 10 guns and a Howitzer, 4 guns being manned by Europeans.

The rebels numbered 15,000, with 12 guns, and the Mounted Volunteers failed to find a large body on the northern flank. When the enemy advanced on both flanks, Lawrence's Native artillery upset the guns, and could not be induced to fight them. An attempt by the 32nd (Duke of Cornwall L.I.) Regiment to take

a village, strongly held, failed, Lieutenant-Colonel Case being wounded and more than half his men killed. The troops now fell back, closely followed by the rebels. The plain was covered by a moving mass of men advancing in quarter-distance columns, preceded by swarms of skirmishers. Captain Bassano, finding Colonel Case on the ground, wished to bring up some men to carry him, but his commanding officer peremptorily forbade him: "Leave me, sir, and rejoin your company." Somewhat later Bassano, being wounded in the leg, was carried a long way by a loyal Sipahi. All of them behaved well. They covered the retreat, and, leaving their own wounded on the ground, carried numbers of their European comrades back to the bridge over the Kukrail stream, 3 miles from the Residency.

The European soldiers, as happened on many other occasions during the suppression of the Mutiny had gone into action without breakfast, and several sank down from sunstroke or exhaustion. Before the retreating column could regain the Kukrail stream, 500 rebel cavalry, with 2 guns, occupied a position on the road; but Captain Radcliffe, with 36 Volunteers, charged them with such speed and determination that the mutineers turned and fled to the protection of a formed battalion, with a loss of some men. Then each Volunteer assisted exhausted infantry back to the Kukrail stream, most horses having three, some four, men hanging on to stirrups, crupper, or the animal's tail.

The rebel infantry now advanced on the bridge; but Sir Henry Lawrence, hat in hand, rallied his broken troops. The ammunition had all been expended, but, bringing the guns into position, he made the British gunners stand with lighted port-fires as if about to fire, until the daunted rebels, not venturing to

June 30
1857

attack, had allowed the column to cross. The troops were then re-formed and regained the Gumti River, the Native women bringing milk and water from the houses on the track for our parched soldiery. One hundred and eighteen British officers and men and 128 Natives were killed; 54 wounded Whites and 11 Natives returned. The casualty list, as regards wounded, is suggestive. The 11 Natives walked; the Europeans were carried back on gun limbers, or on the backs of loyal Sipahis. Two guns and an 8-inch Howitzer were abandoned, and now the Siege of Lucknow began.

THE RESIDENCY POSITION—ITS DEFENCE

The Residency enclosure covered 60 acres of ground (about the size of the Green Park in London). As arranged for defence, speaking in general terms, it was in the shape of an irregular square, the sides being 400 yards long; but there was a loop projecting to the north-west in the angle formed by the Gumti River, which there runs north-north-west and south-south-east, and a connecting canal, which runs for 200 yards due south from the river and then turns westward. The canal was an impediment to the rebels' operations against the north-west corner of the Residency enclosure, and the Gumti, 100 yards wide, protected the north and upper end of the east side to some extent, as it ran at an average distance of 250 yards, nearly parallel to the line of defence, as far south as the Baillie Guard. Although a bazaar stood on the river bank, yet there was a clear space between it and the enclosure, and this space was flanked by a battery, in form of a redan, projecting beyond the general line of the northern line of the enclosure. On the south-east, south, and

west sides there were ruins of demolished Native houses, affording cover to the enemy within 10 yards of the defenders' parapets.

Working parties had for some time been connecting the many detached houses within the enclosure by earthen walls, which were raised later to 6 feet in height, and the ditches from which the soil was taken afforded protection from artillery fire. Much had been done, but the place was not in effect defensible for weeks, and the strongly built houses on the southern side, which were to have been included in the defended area, had not been taken in hand when the defeat at Chinhât precipitated the opening of the Siege. This was very unfortunate, for their upper storeys and roofs, particularly those of Johannes-house, overlooked the south-east corner of the ring fence. The battery there, named "Cawnpur," was so completely dominated by Johannes-house, and by houses within the enclosure, that neither could our people fight the guns nor could the rebels hold it. The rebels began to loophole the houses outside the Residency enclosure as the column returned from Chinhât, and early next day 8000 Sipahis and many thousands of Irregulars opened fire on the defenders, who, including those in the Machchi Bhawan, numbered 700 British soldiers, 220 European Volunteers, 765 Natives, and 1300 non-combatants, including women and children.

July 1857

Captain Anderson's post, adjoining the "Cawnpur" battery, and constructed around Mr. Capper's house, was heavily battered the first day of the Siege. A round shot, cutting away a pillar, brought the verandah down on the owner then engaged in its defence, burying him under 6 feet of bricks, mortar, and timber. An opinion expressed by one of the garrison that it was useless to look for him induced a faint

cry for help and air. Rebels were firing from loopholes within 50 yards, so no one could live standing up; but Captain Anderson, Corporal Oxenham, 32nd Regiment, a Frenchman, an Italian, and 2 British Post Office officials, after working in a prone position for three-quarters of an hour, extricated under heavy fire Capper's body, and his legs were eventually pulled clear by Oxenham, who was obliged to kneel, and who later received the Victoria Cross for his gallantry.

Sir Henry Lawrence determined to withdraw the Machchi Bhawan detachment, and a message to that effect was sent by the semaphore erected on the roof of the Residency, a building three storeys high. The moment the signalling officers appeared on the roof, they became the targets for hundreds of muskets fired by Sipahis from loopholes and windows. Twice the apparatus was cut away, but after three hours' incessant labour under continuous fire the order was transmitted: "Spike the guns well, blow up the fort, and retire at midnight." The rebels were engaged in looting the city that night, and soon after midnight a violent explosion announced the evacuation, which was effected without loss.

THE DEATH OF LAWRENCE

At daylight on July 2 Sir Henry Lawrence began a round of the defensive posts, explaining his views as to the best methods of the defence of the position, and encouraging the garrison. The morning was very hot, and on returning at 8 a.m. he said he would rest for two hours and then remove to a lower and less dangerous room, as he had promised his Staff to do; for an 8-inch shell from the Howitzer left by our troops on the Chinhat road had cut

through the wall on the previous day. Half an hour later, when listening to Captain Wilson reading a memorandum on "the issuing of rations," another 8-inch shell knocked Wilson down, cut off a servant's foot, and tore away the top of Sir Henry's thigh. He was removed to the verandah on the north side of the house; but the rebels, learning where the wounded Chief lay, concentrated their batteries on the spot. He appointed Major Banks as his successor for Civil affairs, and gave detailed instructions for the conduct of defence under Lieutenant-Colonel J. Inglis. Sir Henry talked earnestly of the mistakes made in our treatment of landowners, and of the causes of the Mutiny; and then feeling he was near death he partook of Holy Communion, with bullets striking around, and shells hurtling overhead. He died at sunrise on July 4, having dictated his epitaph: "Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty." Some hours later, when 4 men, 32nd (Cornwall) Regiment, came to remove the body, one private lifted the coverlet, and all reverently kissed the dead man's forehead. They had seen him five days before under close fire, sitting on his horse, hat in hand, to rally the retreating column, and could rightly estimate what they and our country had lost.

SORTIES AND ATTACKS

Colonel Inglis had served for twenty-five years in the 32nd (now 1st Cornwall Light Infantry), and had been promoted to be Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel for services in the Panjab campaign. He was brave, tactful, and, though strict, was popular with all. His task for a week was one of great difficulty: cases of cholera and smallpox appeared in the garrison; the Irregular

cavalry had deserted, and their unfortunate horses, craving for water, broke their head-and-heel ropes, and, careering wildly over the enclosure, fought amongst themselves. The water-carrying and draught bullocks, straying at night, fell into wells, and the labour of burying the carcasses became so onerous that all horses which could hobble, even on three legs, were driven outside. All male adults, officers, Civil servants, and privates shared alike fighting and fatigue duties. Major Banks, Acting Chief Commissioner, daily carried ammunition into the batteries until he was killed on July 21. He had no successor, the Administration and Command being centred in Colonel Inglis's hands.

July 1857 On July 7, Lieutenant S. Lawrence, 32nd Cornwall Regiment, led 50 of his men and 20 Sikhs in a sortie to ascertain if Johannes-house was being mined. A hole was made in the Thag Jail and palisade immediately opposite, big enough for one man to pass through; and a powder party led by Ensign Studdy, creeping through the opening, exploded their bags against the door, while Lieutenant Lawrence, mounting by a ladder, entered through a window, although confronted by rebels, one of whom knocked Lawrence's pistol out of his hand. Twenty-two mutineers were killed, but before the house could be blown up the rebels were so strongly reinforced that the Brigadier recalled our men, only 4 of whom were hit. Bandsman Cuney, 32nd Regiment, was severely wounded; he was remarkable for enterprising courage. Accompanied by a Sipahi, who greatly admired him, Cuney crept out of the enclosure many times, one night penetrating a battery, and spiking the guns. On his return he was made a prisoner, "for having quitted his post," but was soon released. Wounded on several occasions,

he often left his bed in hospital to take part in a fight, and was eventually killed in a sortie, after General Havelock's arrival. Cuney was the most distinguished of these fighting private soldiers, but there were many unauthorised but successful counter-attacks executed by small groups of men under self-elected leaders. Mr. Gubbins, one of the garrison, records, moreover, that he never heard of a European as being wanting in courage.

The sortie of July 7 was repeated numberless times during the Siege. The rebels, though hesitating to risk an assault which their numbers must have made successful, put 20 guns in position, which they fired all day and night, and by July 15 they had demolished Anderson's house, though its ruins were still held, and the Residency building was set on fire by burning bombs. At midnight on July 20-21 July 1857 the bombardment ceased, and at 10 a.m. on the 21st a mine was exploded on the north side of the enclosure, heavy fire being opened on the redan, which ceased, however, as masses of rebels advanced on it. The attack although repeated failed, for hundreds fell under showers of grape and case from the redan-like battery and a storm of bullets from our parapets, the sick and wounded leaving their beds to fire. The rebels got into the garden of Dr. (the late Surgeon-General Sir Joseph) Fayrer's house, on the east face of the Residency enclosure, and made several lodgments, but were driven out by case-shot at closest range, and by men throwing hand grenades. Simultaneously a vigorous escalade was made on Innes's post, held by Ensign Loughnan, 13th Bengal Regiment. Innes's house, a one-storey building, stood in the loop mentioned (line 17, p. 136), outside the square, 140 yards beyond the church, the next

supporting post. The garrison, 12 privates of the 32nd (Duke of Cornwall L.I.) Regiment, 12 loyal Sipahis, 13th Bengal Regiment, and a few civilians, behaved grandly. Some mutineers who mounted to the roof by ladders were bayoneted, but nevertheless the rebels persevered, and numbers got within 10 yards of the house, though only to be repulsed in four successive attacks. One corner of the post was held by Mr. Bailey, a Volunteer, son of a Native Christian, and 2 Sipahis. The rebels urged them to come over, but Bailey succeeded in holding his post though dangerously wounded, a ball passing through his chin and neck, and one of the two Sipahis was killed.

On the west face of the square the assaulting bodies were driven back with heavy loss, and the attack on the "Cawnpur" battery collapsed when the leader, a fanatic bearing a Green Standard, was killed in the ditch. At the Baillie Guard gate a peculiarity of the fight was in the gallant defence of the post, under Lieutenant Aitken, by a few loyal Sipahis of the 13th, against their own mutinous battalion.

July 21
1857

At 3 p.m. on July 21, after a struggle of five eventful hours, another assault was abandoned though the bombardment continued, the enemy's approaches were brought daily nearer, and mining operations were begun; but, the miners' picks being heard, the garrison countermined, and generally with success. The underground warfare, carried on from this time until Havelock's arrival on September 23, was under Captain Fulton, Bengal Engineers, who became the senior Engineer officer owing to the death of Major Anderson from dysentery and overwork on July 21. Fulton was conspicuous even amongst men whose daily lives were heroic. He not only planned, but personally executed much of the successful counter-

mining. A shaft or pit, 4 feet in diameter, was sunk generally 20 feet deep and as close to the enemy's mine as possible, and a gallery just high and wide enough to accommodate a man sitting down was then excavated towards the enemy's miner. The foremost operator, often an officer, loosened the earth, which was put into an empty wine-case by an assistant and drawn to the shaft, up which it was pulled by two men. There were many underground encounters, in which our men were generally victorious.

Early on August 10 large bodies of the enemy Aug. 1857 approached, and at 10 a.m. mines were exploded on the south-east and south faces of the enclosure, assaults being delivered on every side. All were repulsed with but little loss to the garrison; but those on either flank of the "Cawnpur" battery were serious. West of it, most of the Thag Jail had been blown down by the explosions, and a breach 20 feet wide made in the parapet and palisade. Some few rebels charged through the breach, but were shot down by the garrison of the next building called the "Brigade Mess House." Several officers, good shots, serving in the ranks, were stationed on the roof, each having three or four rifles. The rebels fully realised the importance of this post and its garrison of deadly marksmen, for on September 7, sixteen days before Havelock arrived, 280 round shot, of various calibres up to 24 lb., were collected on the roof.

THE STRESS OF SIEGE

M. Geoffroi, one of the gallant band who had extricated Mr. Capper on July 1, was still at Anderson's post. Hearing one of the rebel leaders on the east side encouraging his men by the assurance that the

post was empty, he called out that he was mistaken, shot him dead, and with another bullet wounded his comrade. Others led on the Sipahis; but, all the foremost being killed, their followers fell back. On the west side of the post a more sustained effort was made. Encouraged by a Muhammadan fanatic with a Green Standard, some rebels pushed through the stockade just as the leader fell in the ditch, riddled with bullets. A follower threw him, still alive, across the stockade, and then jumping over was followed by a crowd of men who placed ladders against the wall; but our men were fighting not only for their lives, but also for those of the women and children, and after a struggle of two hours, many rebels having fallen, the attack died away. At sundown a determined effort was made for half an hour on the post just south of the Baillie Guard, a rebel wrenching the bayonet off an English soldier's rifle, but there also the assault failed.

Aug. 10
1857

That evening a falling wall of the Residency building buried 6 of the 32nd (1st Duke of Cornwall L.I.) Regiment; 2 were got out alive, but 4 were left under the ruins, a serious loss when every single adult counted, for now the effectives of the garrison were reduced to 350 Europeans and 300 Natives, giving but one man to defend 20 feet of parapet without any relief.

At daybreak on August 18 two officers and two privates were on the roof of a house on the south-west corner of the enclosure when it was blown up, and all were thrown into the air. Three fell inside and survived, but the fourth falling outside the enclosure he was decapitated. A breach, 30 feet wide, was made in the wall, and a rebel officer, waving his sword, ran through it. He dropped dead, as did his successor, and no other rebel would face the "Brigade Mess House" garrison's bullets, though from the houses across the

street a continuous rolling fire was maintained. In spite of it, the cries of 7 men buried under the walls were heard; but, though several of our soldiers were hit in the attempt, it was impossible to extricate them until the gap in the enclosure wall was closed.

Brigadier J. Inglis, on hearing the explosion, had hurried down with the general reserve, 18 men all told, and by great labour, using doors, planks, tents, and boxes, made a temporary barricade, and then he led the party, he and each man carrying a half-door, and closed the breach; but in the meantime the seven buried men had died of suffocation. Inglis then took out a small detachment and occupied several houses outside the enclosure till sunset, when he destroyed them by demolition charges of gunpowder. At the first streak of dawn on August 21 heavy musketry fire was opened by the garrison on Johannes-house and others near it. They were immediately strongly occupied by the enemy in anticipation of an attack, and at daylight a mine which had been carried under the house, the excavation having been made almost entirely by officers, was exploded and the house blown into the air, numbers of the rebels being killed. When the smoke had cleared away, a party of 50 Europeans, led by Captain M'Cabe, 32nd (Cornwall) Regiment, who had won a Commission from the ranks for planting our flag on the walls of Multan when it was stormed in January 1849, sallied out, and drove the enemy from a battery, spiking the guns. He was killed later when leading his fourth sortie, after Havelock's arrival.

Aug. 18
1857

The rebels were discouraged by their failure on August 18, but the state of the defenders of the Residency was very serious. There were several cases of smallpox, many had died of cholera, nearly all were tainted with scurvy. The painful look of the children

depressed not only parents, but all men, drawn closer in sympathy from the common danger. Want of palatable food, good air, and exercise, had changed fat round cheeks into long drawn skinny faces. The continuous labour by day and night in repairing damages, not only from the enemy's shells but from the parapets washed down by heavy rains; the want of nourishing food, for though wheat was issued instead of flour, men were too busy to grind it; the insanitary conditions, for millions of flies collected around the incompletely buried carcasses of animals—all these causes had a depressing effect on the garrison, but they resolved to blow themselves up with the place rather than surrender. Two hundred and thirty Natives, abandoning all hope of relief, had deserted. On the other hand, most of those remaining not only risked their lives freely, but, what was more to them, their Caste. Brahmans carried and interred their slain British officers, and, later in the siege, when it became necessary to dig up a burial-ground to erect a new battery, on Lieutenant Aitken's order, his highest-class Brahmans handled the putrid bodies. Not one of the old pensioners brought in by Sir Henry Lawrence failed in his duty, and, though on reduced rations and latterly without tobacco, no one was ever heard to grumble.

Aug. 18
1857

Sept. 1857

On September 6, Captain Fulton, with a few Sipahis, descending from the roof of Innes's house, by a brilliant dash captured a loopholed building from which the rebels annoyed our post. He placed the demolition gunpowder barrels for its destruction, and, ordering the party to retire, lighted the slow match. He had reached the ladder when he saw the Sipahis were delaying in order to carry in some firewood, and turning back he brought them away,

covering their retreat. As the last soldier reached the ladder the house was blown into the air, the shattered fragments covering the Sipahi to his waist, and injuring Fulton's arm.

Sipahi Umjur Tiwari evinced marvellous and persistent courage in our service. His company with two others was on detachment at Bandah, and mutinied on hearing what the Headquarter companies had done at Cawnpur. Tiwari assisted a European clerk and his wife to escape, refusing to accept a reward. Three months later, the Sipahi having joined Havelock's force, volunteered to carry a letter into Lucknow. He was twice captured, once tortured, but he never wavered, and passed and repassed through the enemy's lines four times, receiving £500 for each complete journey. On August 28 he brought in a letter from Havelock indicating the hope of relief in a month's time, and during the night of September 22-23 he announced Havelock's approach. Next day citizens and soldiers were seen leaving Lucknow, although the bombardment was continued, and at nightfall Outram and Havelock entered the Residency. For eighty-seven days, the garrison toiling unceasingly, with unfailing courage, had successfully maintained the arduous struggle against their innumerable foes.

Sept. 2-
23, 1857

CHAPTER IX

HAVELOCK AT CAWNPUR—THE ADVANCE ON LUCKNOW

IN Chapter IV it was shown that Havelock's column, after much protracted exertion and stubborn fighting, reached the cantonment of Cawnpur after dark on July 16. The troops lay down on the damp parade ground without food or shelter. The Nana had fled to Bithur, whence he sent his women to Fathgarh by water, pretending, for a time successfully, that he had drowned himself in the Ganges. When and where he died is not quite certain, though it is believed he succumbed to fever, near the Chilhari Ghat, on the left bank of the Upper Gogra River, in 1859, but his name has become an execration, his memory a horrible nightmare. Before quitting Bithur he added one more to the numberless murders he had committed. A European prisoner, who had given birth to a child in the Palace, was kindly treated by the deceased ex-Peshwa's women, but by the Nana's last order to his guard the woman and infant were butchered.

July 17
1857 On July 17 our soldiers strolled over Wheeler's intrenchment, and wonderingly admired the desperate valour which had defended it so long against such overwhelming numbers; they went to the house where the fresh blood of 200 slaughtered women and children was still spread wide in pools over the floors, and

bespattered on the walls; they gazed with horror at the over-charged well, from which a ghastly pile of limbs and mangled bodies protruded. Many men brought away from the charnel-house a lock of hair, a broken toy, or a piece of women's clothing. Several pinned the fragment inside their coats, and wore it until in battle they had exacted the full retribution which all who looked on that bloodstained house vowed that they would extort. The chief perpetrators of the atrocious massacres had fled, as had many of the citizens, and there is no certain estimate of Natives killed during the first few days of the British occupation; but the number could not have been great, for early on the 18th Havelock moved to Nawaganj, 3 miles away from the shops which sold Native spirits, and the men were fully employed intrenching a slightly elevated feature of ground, 200 by 300 yards in extent. On the following day a column was sent to destroy Bithur, which had been deserted.

THE ADVANCE ON LUCKNOW

Brigadier-General Neill arrived from Allahabad on July 20, with 200 young soldiers, and at midnight Havelock superintended the crossing of his advanced guard over the Ganges, ordinarily 500 yards, but now nearly a mile in width. The ferry boats, 20 in number, sailed, or were towed by the one steamer available; but owing to the strength of the current each trip necessitated a passage of 5 or 6 miles, and the small force took three days to concentrate at Mangalwar, 5 miles from the river. Havelock, leaving Neill 300 men to hold the intrenchment and watch Cawnpur, moved forward on the 29th on the Lucknow road, with 1500 men and 10 guns. After a march of 3 miles the

July 20
1857

July 29
1857

enemy was found strongly posted in a village three-quarters of a mile to the west of the town of Unao, which protected his left. The right was covered by a deep swamp, and the Sipahis, sheltered by gardens around a loopholed village, fought with determination. Before the British guns were brought into action, the skirmishers of the 78th (2nd Seaforth) Highlanders and Madras (Royal Dublin) Fusiliers had driven the rebels from the gardens, but they were stopped by fire from the loopholed village, and the enemy well posted behind a wall stood firm. The 64th (North Staffordshire) came up, but no progress was made until Private Patrick Cavenagh ran forward. The gallant Irishman, leading some way in front of the Grenadier company, jumped the wall, into the middle of a dozen dismounted troopers. He killed two before he was literally cut to pieces; his comrades followed, and, after a desperate hand-to-hand struggle, the enemy's guns were captured, and the village cleared. Havelock re-formed the troops, and then advanced till he got on dry ground, where he stood to meet the rebels who were moving towards Unao. With colours flying and drums beating, the masses closed on the small body of British troops till, smitten by bullets and case-shot, the Sipahis tried to deploy. Then their infantry and batteries stuck in the swampy ground, and Havelock, resuming the attack, broke them, taking 15 guns. The Oudh gunners, trained by our officers, fighting to the last, died alongside their cannon.

After a rest of two hours Havelock, having disabled the ordnance, went on 7 miles to Bashiratganj, a walled town, through which the Lucknow road passed. The southern gate was defended by an earthwork with 4 guns, and as inundations covered much of the ground south and north of the town, the road was

the only practicable line of advance or retreat. Havelock sent 1 battalion eastward to turn the position; and get on the causeway north of it. He cannonaded the earthwork and later successfully stormed it, but before the turning movement was complete, and thus the main body of the enemy retreated by the causeway. The troops, now thoroughly tired out, were halted, after being fourteen hours under arms. They had stormed 2 fortified villages, captured 19 guns, and inflicted a loss of 400 on the enemy. The British casualties were 89 all ranks by fire and sword, but they lost rather more by sunstroke, dysentery, and cholera. The general's style of writing orders was more florid than that now in use, but he never left any doubt of his meaning. After eulogising the heroic Private Cavenagh, Lieutenant Dangerfield, Madras (Dublin) Fusiliers, the first to climb the barricade at Bashiratganj, and Lieutenant Boyle, 78th Highlanders (2nd Seaforth), severely wounded when leading at Unao into a loop-holed house which was strongly held by fanatics, he added: "I am not satisfied with all of you; some fought as if cholera had seized your minds as well as your bodies."

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MARTIAL LAW AT CAWNPUR

Havelock now perceived his hopes of relieving Lucknow in a few days were impossible of realisation. Between his diminishing force and the Residency there were thousands of Sipahis, 35 miles of sodden road, the Sai, just at that time a big, unfordable river, and a broad canal. He was short of gun and rifle ammunition, and had no spare transport for sick and wounded. As he expressed the situation: "When I have beaten

down the enemy's artillery fire, my wearied infantry have scarcely strength to capture them." Many soldiers died of cholera; and as the senior surgeon estimated a fortnight later, unless the fatal scourge could be arrested, the entire force would be dead in six weeks.

Havelock learnt from Brigadier-General Inglis that there was sufficient food in the Residency at Lucknow to last for some time, and he heard also that owing to the mutiny at Danapur, the communications with Calcutta were threatened, and the arrival of the 5th (North-umberland) Fusiliers and the 90th Light Infantry (2nd Scottish Rifles) would consequently be delayed. Disregarding the murmurs of his troops, he marched them back to Mangalwar. Thence he sent into the Cawnpur intrenchment some 300 sick and wounded, receiving nearly an equivalent number of effective soldiers and 5 guns from General Neill, who with calculated severity had tranquillised the city of Cawnpur. Captain Bruce, whom he had appointed Superintendent of Police, restored order and stopped plundering, quantities of plunder being recovered and stored in camp. Neill seized or bought every available horse which might be useful for the artillery and Mounted Volunteers. The terrible well was decently covered in, but the pools of blood in the house were left untouched until the trial of some leading rebels was concluded.

Before the execution of those condemned to death, they were marched down, and compelled by an impending lash to clean up some of our countrywomen's blood, which was still lying in pools. This generation is softer, and future generations will deprecate any calculated addition to capital punishment; but the frightful massacre had excited the ordinarily calm

Anglo-Saxon minds, and Neill's views were shared by some of the greatest men in India at the time, the Chief-Justice of Madras several months later expressing publicly his approval of the procedure.

Brigadier-General Neill disapproving of any pause in the advance, attempted to dictate to General Havelock, when realising that he could not hope to force his way to Lucknow with the troops then available, he informed Neill that he was returning to Cawnpur. Havelock was equally determined in character, and at once sternly suppressed his insubordinate junior. Nevertheless, Havelock appreciated the indomitable energy and undaunted courage which made Neill so valuable on service, and employed him later in command of a brigade.

On August 5 and 11 Havelock routed rebel forces on the ground of the action of July 29, returning to his camp with many troops stricken with cholera, having beaten the enemy in eight actions in a fortnight; and on the 13th he recrossed the Ganges into Neill's camp. That officer, though left with only 100 men on August 3, had patrolled the river by small armed parties on a steamer, with successful results. Two days after the Lucknow column got into camp, Neill, with a few companies of Madras (Royal Dublin) Fusiliers, routed a body of the enemy at the place where Havelock had beaten the Nana's troops on July 16.

THE FIGHT AT BITHUR, AUGUST 16

At 4 a.m. on August 16 Havelock left Neill with 100 effectives to hold the camp, and marched with 750 Europeans, 14 guns, and 250 Sikhs, against 4000 rebels, mainly composed of Sipahis, who had mutinied at Sagar, near the Narbada, 300 miles south-

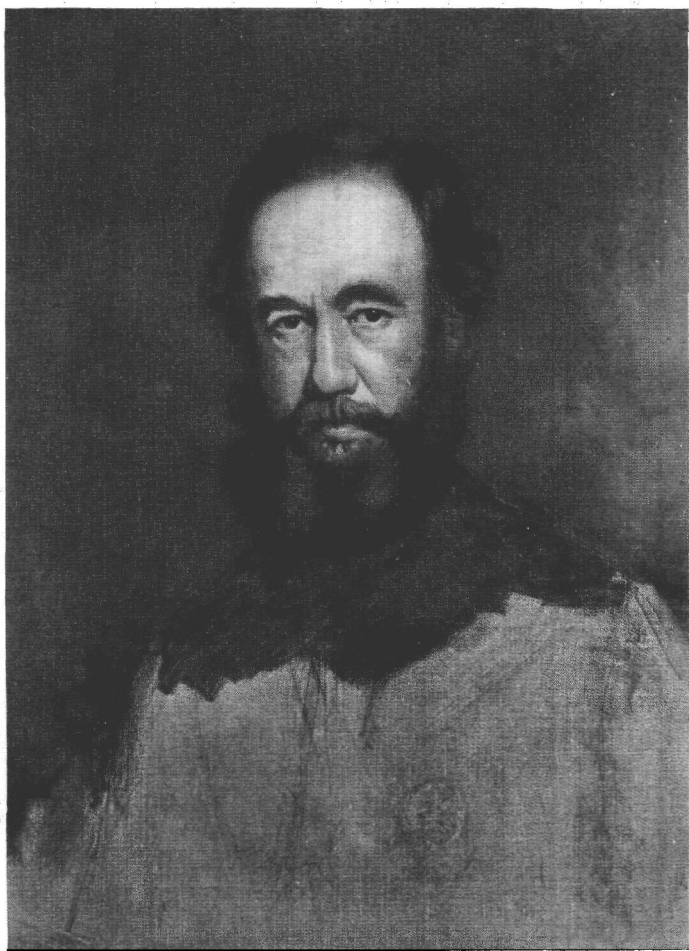
west of Allahabad, and of those who had risen at Faizabad in Oudh.

At noon, after a trying march, in which 12 men died of sunstroke, the rebels were found skilfully placed in position to the south of Bithur. They stood behind two streams, both marshy, and the bridge over the more northerly was protected by 2 guns in an earthwork. The rebels' left flank was posted in a fortified village, built on the bank of the Ganges; the right, drawn back, rested on another village. The front was covered by a large quadrangle with thick mud walls, manned by numbers of Sipahis; and fields of sugar-cane, 7 feet high, added in some respects to the difficulties of an attack. Havelock later described it as "one of the strongest positions I have ever seen."

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The general ordered his troops to lie down, and shelled the position for twenty minutes, but without doing much damage to the enemy. Then he ordered an advance, and, covered by the Madras (Royal Dublin) Fusiliers in skirmishing order, the line moved on, the weary soldiers brightening up as they neared the enemy. Major Stephenson, following his skirmishers, was near the quadrangle enclosure when his right flank was heavily fired on by men in the sugar-cane fields and in the village on the river bank. He met this counter attack by wheeling back 2 companies, and had got within 20 yards of the quadrangles when he was charged by the 42nd Bengal Infantry, and a line of bayonets actually crossed in the struggle, which ended in the retreat of the 42nd to the main position, leaving 60 of their brave men lying dead in one spot.

The advance of the left of the British line was delayed by the crossing of the marshy stream, but the remnant of the 78th (2nd Seaforth) Highlanders, only



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JAMES OUTRAM

From the portrait by Thomas Briggs in the National Portrait Gallery

300 strong on leaving Cawnpur in the morning, led by Macpherson, who was always in front, and the Madras (Royal Dublin) Fusiliers, steadily gained ground until ordered to halt. Now our 14 guns reopened, but failed to silence the rebel battery on the right of their main position. When 500 yards from the breast-work Havelock determined to storm it. The 78th, and Madras Fusiliers, moving off to their right through high growing sugar-cane, came out on the left of the intrenchment, and swept from its left to right along the position, capturing the battery after a hard struggle of ten minutes, the rebels defending it with determination, until they were all slain.

The victorious but wearied soldiers lay down in a mango grove, but after a short rest, the left wing having come up, the force moved on, and cleared the town after more severe fighting. Many of the adjoining buildings were loopholed, and barricaded. Two Aug. 16
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privates, one of the 78th Highlanders, the other of the Madras Fusiliers, though one only had a rifle and his companion a bayonet, killed 7 Sipahis in one house. Too exhausted to pursue, or even to move back, our men rested till next day, and returned to Cawnpur.

SIR JAMES OUTRAM

Havelock now learnt that Major-General Sir James Outram was coming up to command the Danapur and Cawnpur divisions. In any case a halt had become necessary, for of the 1700 men under Havelock's command when he first marched from Allahabad on Cawnpur he had now less than 700 Effectives he could put in the field, and had to reckon, moreover, though it was still far off, with the Gwalior contingent of 5000 men.

Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., of the Bombay army, recalled by Lord Canning's telegram from Persia, where he had commanded the expeditionary force, arrived in Calcutta on July 31. He was a small dark-bearded man, whose gentle polished manner concealed the most dauntless courage, not only in action, but in maintaining his opinion on all public questions, whether such were acceptable or not to his superiors. He had shown remarkable courage at the storming of Khelat in 1839, and General Whish to mark his sense of Outram's services sent him on a long and perilous journey to Sonmiani, with a duplicate despatch, descriptive of the operations, which was delivered long before its original came to hand.

1839 Outram disguised as an Afghan friar left Khelat at midnight, November 15-16, 1839, with 5 Natives. The party was pursued, but reached the Arabian Sea in safety early on November 23, after an eventful ride of 300 miles through hostile races, and over many miles of desert country.

After completing six years' service he commanded the Bhil Corps in Khandesh, spending twelve years in reclaiming aboriginal tribes, and contending with and beating them all at their warlike sports, tracking of tigers and other savage beasts. He was breveted as Major, for brilliant services in the war, in 1839. In the following year Outram was Political Agent for Lower Sindh: the Amir of Haidarabad, when dying, said, "No one has known so great truth as I have found in you. I commend my son to your protection." Outram and the Conqueror of Sindh did not agree as to the administration of the country, but at a public dinner given to Outram on his leaving Sindh in 1842, General Sir Charles Napier, eulogising his services, spoke of him as "The Bayard of India." Outram

had no private fortune ; but, disapproving of our policy in Sindh, he distributed all his prize money—£3000—to various charities in India.

When the Governor-General on August 2, 1857, appointed Outram to be Chief Commissioner in Oudh, and decided he should also command the Danapur and Cawnpur divisions, there was no intention of interfering with the operations of General Havelock, who was then fighting his way successfully to Lucknow. Outram left by steamer on August 6, taking Colonel Napier (later Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala) as his Military Secretary. Years after, Outram on being asked, "Who is the best soldier you ever knew?" without hesitation replied, "Robert Napier." Aug. 1857

When four days out from Allahabad, Outram learnt that 400 rebels with 4 guns had crossed the Ganges to cut his line of communication on the Grand Trunk Road, and despatched Major Vincent Eyre, the hero of Arah, to deal with them. Eyre had 160 men, belonging to the 5th (Northumberland Fusiliers) and 64th (North Staffordshire) Regiments, all on elephants, 2 guns and 40 of the 12th Irregular Cavalry, under Lieutenant Johnson, who after a march of 33 miles joined the force at nightfall. Eyre started at 1 a.m., and Johnson's troopers at daylight sighted the rebels, who at once made for their boats. The Irregulars dismounted, and prevented, by carbine fire the boats being cast off till the infantry on the elephants arrived, and shot down many rebels, who, after fighting bravely, threw their guns overboard, and attempted to blow up their boats. Then Eyre's guns coming into action at shortest range, the rebels took to the water. No man offered to surrender; only three reached the Oudh bank.

Lieutenant Johnson followed another party of similar

strength which had crossed the Ganges 4 miles up stream, but the news of the fate of the first raiders had travelled, and they recrossed ere Johnson arrived. The rebels, deterred by this fatal experience, made no further attempts on that reach of the river to interrupt the line of communications.

THE ADVANCE ON LUCKNOW

Sept. 15
1857

At sunset on September 15 Outram joined Havelock at Cawnpur. They were old friends, and on Outram's application Havelock served under him in Persia. Next day Outram issued an order to the effect that he considered "the strenuous and noble exertions Havelock had already made to save the Lucknow garrison entitled him to the honour of relieving it, and that he had decided to accompany the troops, as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, serving also as a private in the Volunteers, until the Residency was occupied." Sir Colin Campbell, who had assumed the command in India on August 17, in a general order on the 28th eulogised Outram's "disinterested generosity" and "self-sacrifice on a point of all others dear to a soldier." This deliberate, noble self-denial has often been quoted, but comparatively few have realised that it was not only command, but a large sum of money Outram put aside. It was known that in the Residency was £250,000 public money, which would become prize money, and that the share of the general in command would probably be 80 times that of a private soldier.

The floating bridge across the Ganges was relaid with only feeble opposition by the enemy, and at daybreak on September 21 Havelock with 3000 men, 18 guns, and 160 mounted men, of whom 60 Hindustanis belonged to the 12th Irregulars, moved towards

Lucknow in a deluge of rain, finding the rebels in position across the road near Mangalwar. Their right rested on a village and walled-in gardens, and the centre and left were covered by breastworks, behind which were 6 guns. These opened an accurate fire on our batteries when they came within range, causing many casualties and much delay; for an elephant, having had the lower part of its trunk knocked off by a round shot, turned, and ran through the column, and as its sagacious fellows, terrified by the wounded animal's screams, refused to pull any more, it became necessary to obtain and use oxen. Eventually the guns came into action, supported by the 5th (North-umberland) Fusiliers. The greater part of the force moved to Havelock's left, splashing through water knee-deep, but, brilliantly led by the 90th Light Infantry (2nd Scottish Rifles), cleared the village, when the Fusiliers advancing in the centre the rebels fell back. The Mounted Volunteers, under Captain Barrow, riding home furiously, broke the Sipahis' ranks again and again.

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Outram, who for weapon carried only a Malacca cane, was amongst the foremost of our mounted men. They galloped up the road, and came suddenly on a compact body of Sipahis; but Barrow, closing his ranks, charged through the rebels and pursued them towards Bashiratganj, till he came on an intrenchment across the road armed with 2 guns. Barrow even then never paused; closely followed by his men, he rode over the work, and, sabring the artillerymen, captured their guns, chasing the fugitives through and beyond Bashiratganj. He took the Regimental Colour of the 1st Bengal Infantry (the Cawnpur murderers), killing 120 men in the pursuit.

Next day the force crossed the Sai by the bridge

which the rebels, demoralised by Havelock's rapid advance, had left intact. The road for the first ten miles of the march on the 23rd was under water, and no enemy was seen until the afternoon, when 10,000 were observed in a position extending over 2 miles. The right and centre were on, and behind mounds, the left rested on the Alambagh (Garden of the World), a Royal summer-house and mosque, standing in a garden about 500 yards square with high walls, 5 miles south-east of the Residency. The rebels must have marked certain ranges, for their fire was accurate, the first shot wounding 3 officers, 90th Light Infantry (2nd Scottish Rifles); but, after some delay caused by the difficulties in crossing drains in swampy grounds, the 2nd Brigade turned the enemy's right, while Neill attacked the front, after it had been heavily shelled by the artillery, which had been organised as a brigade.

Although the enemy had given way, a 9-pounder gun remained in action, and was captured, with only slight loss, by Lieutenant Johnson and 25 men of the 12th Irregulars, who, galloping up the road, half a mile in front of our troops, sabred the gunners. The Alambagh, till now held by the rebels, was stormed and carried by the 5th (Northumberland) Fusiliers and 78th (2nd Seaforth) Highlanders; the Mounted Volunteers under Barrow, with whom Outram rode, pursued up to the vicinity of the Charbagh (Four Gardens) bridge, which they found intrenched and strongly held. As the squadron fell back, Outram received a telegram and was able to tell the pickets that Dehli had been taken. Next day the troops halted to dry their clothes, for rain had fallen incessantly since they had crossed the Ganges, early on September 21. The Alambagh was prepared for

defence, and all baggage was stored within its walls under a guard of 250 men.

A canal, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of the Lucknow Residency, runs nearly east and west where the Cawnpur road crosses it at the Charbagh bridge; but at 2000 yards east of the bridge it turns and runs north-east for 2 miles, till it joins the Gumti River. The northern bank of the canal and the houses south of it had been prepared for defence, and as soon as the advancing force passed through the outpost line, north of the Alambagh, it was received by hot fire, from batteries on either flank, and loopholed houses.

On September 25 the 5th (Northumberland) Fusiliers led the advance in column of sections, followed by Maude's battery. Outram riding with it was shot through the arm, but he declined to dismount. All the men of the leading gun had been shot down near the Yellow House south of the Charbagh, but the 64th (1st North Staffordshire), 84th (2nd York and Lancaster), and some of the 5th Fusiliers carried the villages near the canal, and did not check till they had got to a turn of the road, within 300 yards of the bridge. Sept. 25
1857

The Madras (Royal Dublin) Fusiliers, under Lieutenant Arnold, moved up to the west of the road, to keep down the fire from loopholed houses on the northern bank, while the 5th Fusiliers, accompanied by some Sikhs under Outram, tried to clear the Charbagh walled garden. Two of Maude's guns unlimbered on the road, but the gun was disabled, and nearly all its renewed detachment knocked down by the first round of the enemy's 6 guns, which were in position behind a parapet 7 feet high. The

roadway had been narrowed to 2 feet on the bridge and closed overhead of the passage in order to render ingress on horseback impossible.

Maude's 2 light guns standing in the open were overpowered by the rebels' battery of 6 pieces of heavier calibre, firing under cover of parapets. He had lost 21 gunners near the Yellow House, and was obliged to ask the infantry for help. Private J. Holmes, 84th (2nd York and Lancaster) Regiment, at once ran up, and others followed his example.

Colonel Fraser Tytler, having reconnoitred up to the bridge under very heavy fire, reported to Brigadier Neill the bridge might be carried, but Neill demurred to ordering an assault, until General Outram and the Fusiliers had got through the Charbagh, and could thus take the bridge head in flank. Major Maude told Lieutenant Havelock (the general's aide-de-camp) that he must have help at once, and the lieutenant, galloping away in the direction of his father's position, halted, however, at the first turn of the road. He returned in a few minutes, and, saluting General Neill, said, "You are to charge over the bridge, sir."

Neill issued the order, which was carried by Tytler and Havelock to Lieutenant Arnold, Madras (Royal Dublin) Fusiliers, who told his men who had been engaged in clearing rebels out of the houses west of the bridge, and were then lying down under cover, to close to their right. The 64th (North Staffordshire) and 84th (2nd York and Lancaster) Regiments had suffered considerably in clearing houses on the east of the road, and Lance-Corporal Mylot, 84th Regiment (later lieutenant), hearing the Fusiliers were to storm the bridge, ran to Captain Willis (later General F. Willis, C.B.), of his regiment, who was fighting in a

house near the canal, begging they might charge at the head of the troops.

Lieutenant Arnold and Captain Willis, and a dozen soldiers each, of their respective regiments, followed by Colonel Fraser Tytler and Lieutenant Havelock on horseback, dashed on to the bridge under a shower of case-shot, which wounded Captain Willis slightly and cut off the right legs of 5 men at his side. Arnold fell on the bridge, shot through both thighs. Fraser Tytler was wounded, his horse being killed. In two minutes Lieutenant Havelock and Corporal Jacques were the only two Effectives on the bridge, but the corporal fired and reloaded as unconcernedly as if at target practice. While Havelock was sitting erect in the saddle at the opening in the parapet through which he could not pass while mounted, a Sipahi standing on it put a bullet through his helmet. Havelock, drawing his revolver, killed the rebel, and then, cheering on the men who had closed up, they answered with a shout of triumph and carried the bridge head, as Outram debouched on the bank and saw them capture the battery, and bayonet the gunners.

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Two of the rebels' guns remaining in action to the east of the Yellow House were strongly posted, being supported by musketry fire from loopholed houses and walled gardens, and continued to fire on the bridge, and on the right rear of the British column. Colonel Campbell, 90th Light Infantry (2nd Scottish Rifles), who had won the Companionship of the Bath in the Crimea, rode straight at the guns, and Colonel Fraser Tytler, who guided the battalion, ran up, holding on by the mane of Campbell's horse. The men followed eagerly, and bayoneted the gunners, Captain Olpherts, Bengal Artillery, carrying off the guns with spare teams under a hot fire. His marvellous courage was

greatly admired by the soldiers in the ranks, who called him "Hell-fire Jack."

Colonel Campbell was mortally wounded next day. The imperturbable Jacques was killed before night, but Corporal Mylot, Private Holmes, the first to replace casualties in the gun detachment, and Major Maude received the Victoria Cross. Lieutenant Havelock would have had it for that day's work, but he had already been gazetted for having charged guns near Cawnpur on July 16.

CHAPTER X

THE FIRST RELIEF OF LUCKNOW—DEATH OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL NEILL

ON September 24, while the troops were drying their clothes and storing baggage in the Alambagh, Havelock and Outram had carefully considered the various roads from the Charbagh bridge to the Residency. The streets leading to it through the south end of the city had been intrenched, and the resistance from loopholed houses must have caused delay and serious loss of life. The approaches from the eastward, though blocked by magnificent palaces and mosques stretching along the banks of the Gumti River, with high and solidly built enclosure walls, were more open and suitable for the action of British troops. When, therefore, the canal, the rebels' first line of defence, had been pierced, on September 25 Havelock ordered the 78th (2nd Seaforth) Highlanders and Brasyer's (Firuzpur) Sikhs to hold the bridge and adjacent houses until all the troops and rearguard had passed on. He detailed a part of the 90th Light Infantry (2nd Scottish Rifles) to act as rearguard, and marched the column through a narrow lane ankle-deep in mud, following the canal for 3000 yards. Then he struck north to the Sikandarbagh, 2000 yards distant, and thence, turning westwards, marched direct on the Residency for a mile. He was unopposed by the rebels,

who were unprepared for the flank movement, until the head of the column reached the Moti Mahall (Pearl Palace), a mile east of the Residency. There it came under fire of a battery and of musketry. Major Eyre's battery, 24-pounders, soon silenced the battery; but Havelock halted the troops, who had been marching since 8 a.m., for he now heard the rearguard was severely pressed. A detachment sent back brought it on, but failed to regain touch with the Highlanders and Brasyer's Sikhs, as they had moved off the track of the column.

After the rearguard of the column had passed on, while the Highlanders were heaving the guns, captured at the Charbagh bridge, into the canal, a large body of rebels attacked them from the Cawnpur road for three hours. The fire from a temple being destructive, the Highlanders stormed it; but the rebels, bringing up artillery, continued the struggle for another hour, when the Highlanders attacked and routed them. They captured the guns, and threw them also into the canal. Meanwhile the rearguard of the column had passed out of sight, and the Highlanders, when following, instead of going up to the Sikandarbagh, turned westward 1200 yards short of it, moving up the Hazratganj-street, which ran parallel to Havelock's track for half a mile and then converged on it. The battalion came under heavy fire, and Ensign Kerbey, carrying the Queen's Colour, was shot: Bandsman Glen held it till Sergeant Reid replaced the Ensign, but fell almost immediately himself. Then Assistant-Surgeon McMaster bore it aloft, and the battalion pressed on, till, debouching at 3 p.m. into a wide open space, they saw on the left a rebel battery intrenched in front of the main entrance of the Kaisarbagh (Imperial Garden) in action against the head of Havelock's main column, which had moved on when the Highlanders were seen.

By the general's order, however, the column had left the heavy guns, baggage, and the wounded, protected by a small detachment of the 90th Light Infantry. The Highlanders charged the battery, and bayoneted the gunners. Having spiked the biggest gun, they reunited with Havelock near the Chatar Manzil, and became later, from their position, the head of the column.

When the column left the shelter of the Moti Mahall walls it came under heavy fire, and a big gate at the King's stables resisted for some time all Captain Olpherts' efforts, who with his gun detachments tried to blow it open. At length he succeeded; and, all the occupants having been killed, the column advanced, and crossing a narrow bridge under a storm of bullets, halted under cover of the walls enclosing the Chatar Manzil (Umbrella) and Farhat Bakhsh (Heart's Delight) Palaces.

Daylight was now waning. Outram knew the place; he foresaw the inevitable loss of life involved in passing through streets in which, as Havelock wrote later, "every house was a fortress." He proposed, therefore, to hold the Chatar Manzil and wait until the column closed up, in order that the wounded and rearguard might rejoin. The Chatar Manzil had just been taken, and could be easily held; moreover, the track by the palaces afforded a comparatively bloodless means of approach to the Residency, 1300 yards distant. Havelock was, however, unwilling to wait, and Outram, who had voluntarily subordinated himself until the Residency garrison had been relieved, not insisting on his wiser counsels, offered to show the direct road. Havelock ordered an advance, and the Highlanders and Brasyer's Sikhs, who were nearest to the Residency, led by the two generals, passed through a lane into a courtyard with flat-roofed houses and loopholed walls, from which came flames of fire, and streams of

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bullets poured down at close range, without risk to the Sipahis, who were under cover. All the doors were outside the courtyard, and there was no possibility, therefore, of breaking into the houses. At the far end of the yard was an archway, under which General Neill on horseback was regulating the passage through it, when a Sipahi fired from its roof, and killed him.

Captain Olpherts brought a gun through the archway, and into action against a battery at the Kaisarbagh, which was playing on the rear of the column, but was unable to silence the enemy's fire. Many officers and men fell, for on reaching the Khas Bazaar the head of the column encountered fire from men lining a bank thrown up across a street, and from others lying on the flat roofs of the houses. Nevertheless, the Seaforths, and Brasyer's Sikhs pressed on, and in their eagerness passed a turn in the street which led to the Residency, still several hundred yards distant. The error was soon discovered, and the centre company, at the head of which were the Colours, was guided in the right direction, under the command of Lieutenant (now General Sir George) Digby Barker. It was heavily fired on as it rounded the next two street corners, but marched on without check until Outram led the Highlanders and Sikhs up to the Baillie Guard Gate. It was so well barricaded that a delay occurred while the obstacles were being removed. As the general was trying to force his horse in through an embrasure, Lieutenant Barker climbing up passed through, and was the first man to enter.

While Outram was guiding the Highlanders, Lieutenant W. Moorsom, 52nd (2nd Oxfordshire) Light Infantry, who was aide-de-camp to General Havelock, and had surveyed the city in 1856, led another body of infantry through a parallel and comparatively



GENERAL SIR HENRY HAVELOCK, K.C.B.
From the engraving after the painting by W. Crabbe

sheltered street, and arrived outside the gate a few minutes later.

Then a sad accident occurred. Lieutenant Aitken, whose continuous acts of courage rendered him remarkable even amongst the bravest of the beleaguered garrison, and who won the Victoria Cross later, on hearing the cheers of the approaching soldiers, took out a party of the loyal survivors of the 13th Bengal Infantry to meet them. The Highlanders unfortunately, in their excitement, bayoneted 3 of Aitken's men. As one lay bleeding to death, recognising the fatal error, he said simply to his companions, "It does not matter, I die for the Government."

THE STATE OF THE GARRISON

The long-drawn-out suspense of the garrison was relieved when they actually saw their countrymen fighting through the streets towards the Residency. The sickening apprehension of months was now replaced by anxious concern for those battling in the barricaded city, but there was no longer a doubt of the result. The incessant wearying struggle for life was about to be shared by willing hands.

For the first week of the siege the defenders of the low and frail parapets had fired freely; but the physical exertion of loading and resisting the recoil of a rifle soon induced economy in the expenditure of ammunition, and then scarcely a bullet was fired which did not find its mark. The continuous watching, and labour by day and night, in the worst season of the Hindustan climate, not only in repairing defences, in counter-mining, but also in taking measures essential for sanitation, had told heavily on the faces and frames of the attenuated soldiers. Seven of the 68 ladies, 23

of the 66 children, had succumbed under the rebels' incessant bombardment, or by disease ; and the effective soldiers had nearly despaired of being relieved. Now cheer after cheer rose from every little post, the sick and wounded hobbling out to join in the joyous shouts of welcome. For three months isolation from the world had been complete. Presently some wives heard that husbands, for whom they had mourned, were alive and well ; many learnt they could never again meet on earth those for whose coming they had so long and so fervently prayed.

Havelock and Outram were followed through the opened barricade by some smoke-begrimed soldiers, who shook the hands of the ladies, and caught up and embraced the little children who had assembled to greet their rescuers.

Lieutenant Aitken and his little band of loyal Sipahis, undeterred by the ghastly error narrated above, occupied a part of the Tara Kothi, going on next morning to the Farhat Bakhsh Palace, to which the rear of the troops extended. While the weary infantry were lying in sheltered spots of the track they were on, Lieutenant Johnson (who captured the gun half a mile in front of Havelock's force on the 22nd) took out his troop (12th Irregulars) with led horses, and brought in many wounded, who had fallen on the west side of the Moti Mahall. The majority of the wounded, the heavy batteries, and ammunition wagons, under command of Colonel Campbell, who had with him only 100 of the 90th Light Infantry (2nd Scottish Rifles), were still in a walled passage in front of the Moti Mahall, where they were surrounded by the rebels. At daylight on the 26th Sir James Outram, who had resumed command, sent out a detachment which could not, however, reach Campbell's party, and Colonel (later Lord)

Napier with reinforcements worked from noon till 3 a.m. on the 27th, when the guns were successfully parked in the Chatar Manzil. A body of Sipahis found there were nearly annihilated, but Campbell had been mortally wounded.

Most of the British wounded were moved safely along the river bank into the Residency; but 40 were misled by a brave Bengal Civil servant with local knowledge, who, learning that his cousin, Lieutenant Havelock, was severely hit, had volunteered to go out from the Residency to guide in the wounded. He reached the Moti Mahall by the river bank; but, when coming back, he mistook the road, and led the carriers into the death-trap courtyard, where Colonel Neill and many soldiers had fallen the previous evening. About 40 dolis were being carried through the street into the courtyard, when heavy fire was opened on them. The brave Civilian guide tried to turn back the bearers, but was himself severely wounded. All the dolis were dropped except one in which lay Lieutenant Havelock with a broken arm. Private H. Ward, 78th Highlanders (2nd Seaforth), one of the escort, vowed he would shoot the first carrier who dropped the pole, and kept the men at their work. The load was a double one, for one of the escort, being badly wounded, threw himself on top of Havelock. Both men reached the Residency.

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Surgeon Home (now Surgeon-General Sir Anthony, V.C., K.C.B.), 90th Light Infantry (2nd Scottish Rifles), with 5 wounded and 9 effective soldiers, found an open door under the archway, leading into a small house, which they barricaded, while Private Patrick M'Manus, 5th (Northumberland) Fusiliers (later V.C.), though heavily fired on, guarded the door. A pillar sheltered him, and he killed so many rebels that after half an

hour, when he levelled his rifle, the assailants drew back, their heaped-up dead creating an obstacle against a charge. The Sipahis shot persistently at the dolis, in one of which lay Lieutenant Arnold, Madras (1st Royal Dublin) Fusiliers, who was shot through both thighs on the Charbagh bridge on September 23; but they were afraid to venture close up, fearing M'Manus's unerring aim. Private J. Ryan called for volunteers to save his officer, and M'Manus, although he had been hit in the foot, ran out with Ryan into the courtyard. Their united efforts failed to move the doli, so lifting Arnold out, they carried him into the house, but he was again hit in the thigh, this time mortally.

A wounded soldier lying in another doli cried piteously for help, and the heroic Irishmen again passed safely through a storm of bullets, though the man they carried into the room was mortally wounded in two places. After an hour's continuous fighting in which many rushes by the rebels were successfully stopped, 3 out of the 9 effective soldiers had been wounded. Surgeon Home, when not helping the stricken men, assisted actively in the defence. Some Sipahis creeping up, fired through a Venetian blind, which looked out on the square. Home waited at the hole, and with a revolver killed the next rebel who appeared, Private Hollowell, 78th (2nd Seaforth) Highlanders, shooting another, who tried to remove the body from the doorway. Hollowell never despaired; he cheered up the party, and shot several leaders of the Sipahis, the last being a very brave old man in a white dress, armed with sword and shield.

Then the firing ceased for a time, and a bullet-proof iron screen on wheels was rolled before the street door, under cover of which the enemy climbed on to the roof, and, breaking through it, threw down

quantities of lighted straw, which filled the room with smoke, and presently set it on fire. To escape suffocation the 6 effectives carried the 3 men who could not walk across a corner of the square to a shed about 10 yards distant. In crossing over the wounded officer was killed and a soldier hit again, the effectives escaping injury. In the shed were lying many dead and dying Sipahis.

Surgeon Home had now only 5 men who could fire, and 4 who could stand sentry. The rebels breaking down an arch in the shed fired into it; but a wounded sentry kept them from approaching close up, though they continued to shoot through the doorways, and holes in the boarding. The little party could no longer protect the dolis, as one side only of those nearest could be seen, and the rebels, crawling up on the far side, cut to pieces in succession many of the wounded. Lieutenant Knight, 90th Light Infantry (2nd Scottish Rifles), had received a bullet in his leg, but a sabre slash through the curtain nerved him to great effort, and, scrambling out on the far side, he ran at speed under a shower of bullets, fired by 50 Sipahis, and though hotly pursued reached the rearguard, though with two more wounds in his legs.

Sept. 26,
27, 1857

The rebels now climbed up on the roof and, making holes, fired down into the shed, so the little party broke through a mud wall into a courtyard on the west side. While they were at this work the wounded, who had heard the screams of their dying comrades slaughtered in the dolis, begged that they might be shot at once. Surgeon Home and one soldier crossed the courtyard, and the doctor, getting up on his companion's shoulders, climbed into a mosque, which was well adapted for defence. He was beckoning to

the party to follow him when the Sipahis saw him and reopened fire, so the two explorers had to run back, but they carried in two jars of fresh water which they found in the courtyard, to the great relief of all. The wounded had suffered intensely from thirst, and the lips of those still effective were blackened by continuously biting cartridges.

As night fell the party clustered round the doorway, except 3 who watched the more exposed holes. The Sipahi sentries paced up and down on the roof, but ceased to fire, and the Britons had only a few rounds left. The rebels now set fire to the dolis, and though all the Britons heard the moans of the men who had not been killed outright, and were being burnt to death, no one ventured to speak of this additional horror.

At 2 a.m. on the 27th heavy firing coming nearer and nearer, with the noise of many men running to and fro, rendered the little party frantic with excitement, as they shouted directions for the attack; but when the firing ceased there came on them a painful revulsion of feeling. Surgeon Home proposed to make for the Residency or the rearguard, and the men agreed, but on creeping out he saw both roads were blocked by bodies of Sipahis, through which it was impossible to carry the wounded, and the men made up their minds that all must die. At daylight musketry fire was again heard, this time failing to excite hope, but very soon Lieutenant Moorsom, A.D.C., 52nd (2nd Oxfordshire) Light Infantry, appeared at a hole, and skilfully withdrew the survivors to the rearguard, in the Chatar Manzil.

The casualties from between the Alambagh and the Residency, from September 25 to 27, were severe, about 585 of all ranks, including the wounded killed

in the dolis, but the greatest loss of all was the fall of Brigadier-General J. Neill. Unknown outside the Indian army until he landed at Calcutta, in four months he had gained a world-wide reputation as "the first who stemmed the torrent of rebellion in Bengal." Except Outram, no general gained so completely the confidence and esteem of soldiers in the ranks.

The passing of convoys of wounded and single men to and from the Residency by the Gumti bank, on September 26, without casualties, shows clearly the unfortunate results of Havelock's decision to force a passage through the city on the 25th, and it is interesting to recall that Outram, two years later, criticised adversely his own conduct in deferring the assumption of the command. In speaking before many people at Calcutta of this incident, he said, "It was a foolish thing—sentiment had obscured duty."

Although General Outram and Colonel Napier were both wounded on the 28th, they continued at duty. The problem to be solved by Outram required careful consideration. During the first week after his arrival he made a number of sorties, and gradually extended the defensive position for half a mile eastward, seizing and holding the palaces on the southern bank of the Gumti. He did not push out so far to the south, eventually holding only one house, to keep the rebels farther off the Residency enclosure. On the west side there was no object in extending the defensive position, as it was soon apparent that no supplies were obtainable from the city. Careful estimates of the stores in the Residency showed there was sufficient, even for the additional garrison of 2000 men, for two months. The reduction which had been made in the daily ration in August was therefore unnecessary. Fifty years ago

Regimental officers relied entirely on the Commissariat Department for food, and Assistant-Commissary James had been severely wounded in the leg in action at Chinhat. He did as much duty as he could, but movement was difficult for him, and the Chief Commissioner having personally brought large quantities of grain, which was hidden in pits, correct accounts could not be obtained during the daily fighting which went on for three months.

General Outram soon realised he could neither remove the non-combatants, nor safely reduce the garrison, and, after a fruitless attempt by the cavalry to get to the Alambagh post, reported to be in need of aid, he decided to remain in the Residency enclosure until relieved by Sir Colin Campbell.

CHAPTER XI

AGRA AND CENTRAL INDIA

IT was shown in Chapter VII that with the surrender of the King the effective occupation of the city of Dehli was complete. This success occurred just in time to extinguish the sparks of rebellion, then being assiduously fanned in the north of India.

The general in command of the field forces had broken down in health and was about to proceed to the Himalayas; but on September 24 he despatched a force of 900 Europeans and 1800 Panjabis to re-establish our rule farther south. On the 28th there was a fight near Balandshahr, resulting in the defeat of the rebels, who lost 3 guns, two of which were taken by the 75th (1st Gordon Highlanders) and one by the cavalry, on which Arm the brunt of the fighting fell. Lieutenants the Hon. A. Anson and Blair, of the Queen's service, Hugh Gough (now Sir Hugh, V.C., G.C.B.), Probyn (now General the Right Hon. Sir Dighton, V.C.), Sleigh (now Field-Marshal Earl, V.C.) Roberts, and Watson (now General Sir John, V.C., G.C.B.), of the East India Company's service, all had personal encounters in the streets of the town with the enemy, who individually fought well when retreating. Anson and Blair gained the Victoria Cross. Lord Roberts, in his *Forty-one Years in India*, describes his narrow escape through his horse's rearing

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and receiving in its head a bullet fired at close range at the rider by a Sipahi, and he adds, "Anson surrounded by mutineers performed prodigies of valour." Lieutenant Blair, 9th Lancers, who had distinguished himself in the fighting on the Ridge at Dehli, was sent with 10 men some distance outside the town to bring in an abandoned ammunition waggon. He was surrounded by 50 rebel cavalry, and, ordering his men to follow, he rode straight at the enemy. The Lancers obeyed well, killing 9; Blair ran a rebel through the body, but had his shoulder-joint cut through, his men escaping unhurt.

At Aligarh, 80 miles south of Dehli, 250 more rebels were killed by the cavalry without loss on the British side, and at Akbarabad, 14 miles south of Aligarh, twin Rajput brothers, who had taken a prominent part against us, were surprised and slain. Letters were received when the force was at Bijaigarh, 50 miles from Agra, to the effect that the city was in great danger, the writers imploring immediate succour. The mutinous Regular troops from Mau and detachments from Bhopal, Malwa, and Mahidpur, had gone to Gwalior; and, though Sindhia and his able Minister, Dinkar Rao, still restrained the Contingent, the rebels on moving to Dholpur, 35 miles south of Agra, were accompanied by many fighting men from Gwalior, who resented the Maharajah's passive attitude. The Dholpur force gradually overran the country to the south of Agra, and an advance from Fathpur Sikri on the fortress induced the urgent appeals to the Dehli column for assistance.

The mounted troops marched immediately, the infantry, as soon as transport, consisting of camels, carts, and elephants, could be provided. When the cavalry got to within 12 miles of Agra further news

was received that the enemy had retired, and the column, reuniting, crossed the bridge of boats over the Jamnah early on October 10.

In 1857 Mr. John Colvin was the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, which include Dehli, Rohilkhand, Mirzapur, Allahabad, Cawnpur, Jhansi, and Agra. The only European troops in this enormous tract of country were at Meerut, and at Agra, where a battery of artillery and the 3rd Bengal European (2nd Royal Sussex) Regiment of the Company's army, besides two Native battalions, were quartered. The Lieutenant-Governor informed the troops on parade on May 14 of the outbreaks at Meerut and Dehli, and offered a free discharge to any Sipahi who wished to leave the Company's service.

After prolonged discussion by a council of the principal civil and military officers, the Lieutenant-Governor decided to act as if he did not anticipate an outbreak, and on May 14 he reported to the Governor-General that he hoped to maintain order in and near Agra.

Seventy miles south of Agra is Gwalior, the capital of a Maratha kingdom. Fourteen years earlier, when the Regency, acting for a minor, provoked a war and were beaten, Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General, did not annex the country; he disbanded its large army, and raised a Contingent under British officers, which in 1857 numbered 8300 of all arms. Sindhia, the Maharajah, ever showed his gratitude for this generous treatment. He was naturally better informed as to the Native unrest than any European could be, and he warned the Political Agent at his capital that the whole Bengal army was disaffected, and that his own Contingent would eventually mutiny. The

Maharajah sent 2 cavalry regiments and a battery of artillery to Agra, at Mr. Colvin's request, and somewhat later his bodyguard, composed of personal adherents. On May 24 a battalion of the Gwalior Contingent re-established order at Itawah, 70 miles south-east of Agra, where the garrison, a company of the 9th Bengal Infantry, had risen and plundered the Treasury, the ladies and children, however, being escorted to Gwalior by Native officers who had remained faithful.

May
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The Lieutenant-Governor wrote to the Jat State at Bharatpur, the Chief of which was a minor, at the same time that he applied to Sindhia, and the Regency, who were loyal, sent a detachment under a British officer to hold Hodal, 30 miles north of Mathura, a town on the Jamnah, 35 miles above Agra. The troops, however, were in full sympathy with the mutinous Bengal army, and on May 30, when the news from Mathura reached Mr. Colvin, he decided to disarm the Native regiments at Agra. The disarmament was carried out successfully at daylight on May 31, without bloodshed, after a momentary hesitation of the Sipahis to obey the order to pile arms. Some of the muskets had been loaded, and therefore this step was taken only just in time to avert an outbreak. The Lieutenant-Governor now organised corps of volunteers and collected provisions, for his hold on the kingdoms under his rule was daily lessened.

Nevertheless, he never despaired, and was loyally supported by many Civil servants, who risked their lives and health in unrecorded but brave efforts to maintain British supremacy. In July Mr. J. Colvin invited Mr. E. J. Churcher to proceed from Agra Fort to Etah, 70 miles to the north-east, where the Rajah,

hoisting a green flag, had proclaimed himself as the King of Dehli's representative. Mr. Churcher was appointed a Special Magistrate and authorised to raise a small Irregular force. He was well acquainted with the district, and acting with determined courage, he made the Rajah a prisoner, and, unassisted by any European, restored and maintained order, collected the revenue, and handed over the district in working order after the fall of Dehli.

THE MASSACRE AT JHANSI

Jhansi, in Bundelkhand, formerly a dependency of the Peshwa, 140 miles south of Agra, was annexed in 1854, on the death of the last childless hereditary Rajah, who had ruled over 250,000 inhabitants and 3000 square miles, paying a tribute of £7000 per annum to the East India Company. The Rani, widow of the late Rajah, as previously stated, bitterly resented the annexation of her husband's country and the mean decision of debiting her pension of £6000 with his debts. The walled-in chief town, Jhansi, was surmounted by a stone fort, with a round tower as a keep. A small redoubt called the 'Star Fort' in the cantonment held the Treasury, guarded by a company of Native artillery, which, with a wing of the 12th Bengal Infantry and 3 troops of cavalry, constituted the garrison.

When the Meerut news was received, the Rani, a woman of great ability, persuaded Captain Skene, the Political Agent, who was confident of his ability to maintain order, to sanction her enlisting some troops for her own safety against the Sipahis, with whom she at once secretly negotiated. She then unearthed some cannon, which had been hidden underground.

June
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On June 5 a company of the 12th Bengal Infantry took possession of the Star Fort, to the indignation, as they alleged, of the other troops, who declared they would stand by their officers. The commanding officer, Captain Dunlop, arranged to attack the mutineers next day; but, with other officers, he was shot dead by his men just as the Rani led a procession to the Cantonment. Lieutenant Campbell, of the Irregular Cavalry, though wounded, reached the fort overlooking the town, where Captain Skene, with his wife and children, 12 British officers, several Eurasian clerks, many women and children, numbering 55 Christians, took refuge. The fort, solidly built on a high rock of granite, had three lines of defence; it was constructed to afford flanking fire, and a determined adequate garrison with water, food, and ammunition might have defied the Rani and her troops. When the mutineers had killed all the Christians they could find in the Cantonment they marched on the fort, but were so warmly received by its occupants, who had been well posted by Captain Skene, the women casting bullets and helping in other ways, that the Sipahis drew off.

The Rani had her cannon placed in position against the fort during the night, and Captain Skene, being very short of water, food, and ammunition, sent out 3 gentlemen at daylight, under promise of safe conduct, to arrange with the Rani for the withdrawal of the Christians to British territory. She had the envoys killed, and then ordered a second attack to be made on the fort, which was, however, repulsed. Next morning the Rani's guns opened fire, but killed only one officer, and the accurate shooting of the garrison made the Sipahis keep out of range.

Lieutenant Powys found 2 temporary Native servants opening a secret door into the town to admit

the rebels ; he killed one traitor, and was cut down by his companion, who was, however, immediately slain by Captain Burgess. Some courageous Eurasians who went out to communicate with Gwalior were caught and killed, but the Rani, despairing of taking the fort by assault, sent a flag of truce, offering an escort to a British station. The terms were accepted under most solemn vows for their due performance, but when the garrison walked out without arms they were seized, bound with cords, and collected in a garden. They were then separated, the adults by sexes, the children in a third group, and all were butchered.

THE FLIGHT OF EUROPEANS AFTER THE JHANSI MASSACRE

The Rani assumed the position of ruler, giving the Sipahis the treasure. She coined money, fortified towns, raised troops, and six months later died sword in hand, leading her men against Sir Hugh Rose's (later Lord Strathnairn's) division, being cut down by a British hussar.

The other portions of the corps which had garrisoned Jhansi were at Naogaon, 70 miles to the south-east. The Sipahis there had on May 23 reported the arrival of suspicious characters in the Native lines, and on the 30th four artillerymen were dismissed, and the guns brought to the quarter guard of the apparently stanch infantry, who had volunteered to serve against the rebels. The news of the outbreak at Jhansi, however, overstrained the loyalty of the garrison. Next morning 3 Sikhs, stepping out of the ranks, killed the regimental sergeant-major, a Native, and the Christians left the station for Chhatarpur, with 87 Sipahis. These men explained they intended later to join their

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mutinous comrades, but out of regard for their commanding officer, Major H. Kirke, they would escort the Christians to a place of safety. During the night they missed the track, and this saved them for a time, for the mutineers having plundered the station pursued them. Advanced parties sent on to block the road reported that the fugitives had not passed, and the mutineers turned back. Many of the Christians fell, some in fights with bandits, Major Kirke and others from sunstroke; the Sipahis gradually slunk away, indeed only 6 would fight, and after undergoing terrible privations 10 Europeans, 3 women and children were received by the Nawab of Bandah. He and the Rani of Chhatarpur and Azigarh, disregarding all appeals of their people to slay the infidels, succoured our unfortunate people. Every British station in Bundelkhand fell except Nagod, where the 50th Bengal Infantry remained faithful, although only for a time.

The revolution in Bundelkhand affected the adjoining Gwalior territory. At a small town held by an outpost of Sindhia's Contingent the few resident Europeans were advised to hasten southwards. Two gentlemen and a lady, wife of an officer then on active service, rode off one morning in June, escorted by Sergeant Meer Umjeid Ali, a well-born Muhammadan gentleman, and a troop of 25 of his relations. He was a landowner of influence in Hindustan, and the King of Dehli had written personally to urge him to cast in his lot with the true believers. Umjeid Ali steadily resisted this appeal, as he had previously resisted several other requests to be unfaithful to Sindhia, to whom he had sworn to be loyal and true.

The party, having marched for some days, had halted at 10 a.m. one day at a dak bungalow, intend-

ing to go on in the evening, when the burning rays of the June sun became less oppressive. A dak bungalow fifty years ago in Central India was a one-storey building, containing three rooms—the centre one for meals in common, that on either side for gentlemen and ladies—and bathrooms at the back, with one Native in charge who cooked for travellers. At 2 p.m. one of the gentlemen, calling through the curtain which shut off the ladies' room, for there were no doors, said, "Mrs. —, come quickly, your horse is being saddled; there are five hundred men pursuing us." "I cannot move," said the lady. "You must." "It is impossible; I have had a baby born to me." "I fear we must say good-bye to you for ever." "Why for ever? Will they kill me?" "I fear they may do so." "Then wait five minutes, and I'll come." The lady rode 25 miles that afternoon, carrying the baby under her arm, and lived forty-five years after the Mutiny. The baby in due time became herself a mother.

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When Umjeid Ali arrived at the station for which the party was making, the commanding officer absolutely declined to allow his men inside the outposts. To his appeal, "Though our skins are dark, our hearts are those of white men," came the reply, "No, we cannot again trust Natives." "But what can we do? We will never fight against the Government our Maharajah supports." Eventually he was told he might go to a cantonment 100 miles distant, where the soldiers were about to mutiny, and help the officers to escape. Umjeid Ali did so, and when, four months later, the force mutinied on parade, he escorted the eight European combatants from the station, and the wife of the senior officer. The little party was followed and fired on by a few infantry and a crowd of bad characters from the town. When

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passing some scattered houses in the outskirts a bullet broke the hind leg of the lady's horse, which fell to the ground. Ali Rasul, eighteen years of age, a tall, slight youth weighing nine stone and active as a cat, sprang from his horse, and begged the lady to escape on it, saying, "I am only a black man, it matters nothing if I die." The lady was elderly, old enough, indeed, to have known better, but she replied decidedly, in perfect Hindustani, "*I* ride in a man's saddle? Never! never! never!" The young man, a kinsman of Umjeid Ali, was equally determined, and throwing his arms around the lady he endeavoured to put her on his saddle; but she, being much heavier than the youth, by squatting on the ground like a partridge, successfully resisted his efforts; and he mounted and galloped off, just before the pursuing crowd turned a corner of the road. The scene occurred immediately in front of the house of a Native tradesman, who had worked for the lady; he ran out and dragged her inside, unseen by the rebels. He became then greatly alarmed lest he should suffer for his act, and stained the lady a dark colour, it was said, from head to foot. She was restored in a few days to her husband, otherwise unscathed. Ali Rasul showed distinguished courage in action the following year, when the writer served in the same force. Meer Umjeid Ali rose to the highest grade of Native officer in the 38th (Prince of Wales's Own) Central India Horse, and died an honoured pensioner.

RAJPUTANA

The 18 Provinces of Rajputana were ably and fearlessly controlled during the Revolt in Hindustan by Colonel Lawrence, the eldest of three remarkable

brothers. As Agent to the Governor-General he had to overlook 10 millions of Rajputs, spread over 100,000 square miles. He was instructed to move to Agra with any reliable troops he could bring and all the treasure he could collect. He preferred to hold on to his charge, though he had only 30 British officers and 20 sergeants, the latter attached to Native battalions. There were 5000 Native troops in his charge, Bengal infantry being stationed at Ajmir, Nasirabad, and Nimach. Ajmir, the only arsenal in Rajputana, stood in a strip of British territory separated from Agra and the North-West by Jaipur, Tonk, Alwar, and Bharatpur, and it was garrisoned by 2 companies of a mutinous battalion.

When Colonel Lawrence, at Mount Abu, a Sanatorium on a peak of the Aravalli mountains, heard the Meerut news, he at once asked the officer commanding at Disa for European troops. Ajmir would, however, have fallen before they arrived but for the action of the Commissioner, Colonel Dixon, who, though a dying man (he lived only a few days after), sent for 100 men of his (the Mairwarra) battalion, which was composed exclusively of low-caste men and had no sympathy with the Brahman soldiers in the Regular regiments.

Lieutenant Carnell, the second in command, started at once, and by covering 37 miles in one march secured Ajmir before the Sipahis could concert a mutiny; and they were sent later to Nasirabad. Colonel Lawrence now called on the 18 Native princes and chiefs, who ruled in Rajputana, to maintain order, and with only one exception, which arose from a personal quarrel of a feudatory chief with his overlord, the Rajah of Jodhpur, there was no revolt amongst the rulers, though their Hindustani soldiers

mutinied. The princes and chiefs, mindful of the fair rule under which Rajputana had prospered for nearly forty years, were loyal to their British overlords.

The two Bengal battalions at Nasirabad mutinied on May 28, and the 1st Bombay Lancers, though not outwardly mutinous, only pretended to charge, allowing 2 of their officers to be killed and 2 wounded without making any effort to save them. The other officers escorted the ladies, who had previously been sent outside the Cantonment to Biaur, the headquarters of the Mairwarra battalion, 37 miles south-west of Nasirabad.

The following day the Bengal troops at Nimach rose, and the regiment of the Gwalior Contingent, quartered with it, resisted the contagion for a few hours only. Then, after plundering the station, all marched for Agra, the Christians, except four, who were slaughtered, being succoured by a Rajput chief.

When the news of the mutinies at Nasirabad and Nimach reached Gwalior, the nervous strain on the officers' wives living in the cantonment at Morar was intensified. During the last week in May the Maharajah suggested that the families should move to the Residency, 5 miles off, so that they might be under his protection. They did so, but, the Native officers having protested against the want of confidence shown in them, the families were brought back. It was then proposed they should go to Agra, but a telegram from the seat of government on June 12 postponed the movement. At 9 p.m. on Sunday, June 4, the Contingent rose, shot 7 out of the 14 officers, some women and children, and 6 European sergeants. The Sipahis, when shooting the officers, told the ladies to stand clear, as they did not wish to harm them. The survivors reached Agra, 70 miles distant, on June 15.

CHAPTER XII

CENTRAL INDIA—AGRA

INDUR

INDUR, the capital of Holkar's widely scattered dominions, which was the next scene of mutiny and massacre, is 400 miles south of Agra and 40 miles north of the Narbada River. Holkar, the Maharajah and ruler of a million people, scattered over 8000 square miles much broken up by intervening States, was twenty-one years of age. He had enjoyed the inestimable advantage of a mental training under Colonel Sir Robert Hamilton, who had done all that was possible to improve the mind and capacity of a weak character. The youth, though by no means heroic, was at heart loyal to the rulers of India.

Sir Robert Hamilton was in England when the signs of unrest in the Bengal army appeared, and his place had been taken on April 5 by Colonel Durand, whose character in some respects resembled that of Outram. Unfortunately there was no time for him to understand the workings of the young Maharajah's mind ere his troops, gradually getting beyond what had always been a loose control, broke out in mutiny and rebellion. On May 14, Durand, hearing the Meerut news, took steps to isolate by pickets of Holkar's troops, the trained Regulars at Mau, a cantonment 12 miles distant, from the Contingents of the

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surrounding Native States. The Residency at Indur was guarded by 200 men of the Malwa Contingent, of doubtful fidelity ; so Durand called up from Mandessar 3 companies of the Bhil battalion recruited from a tribe trained to loyalty by Outram, but they proved to be of little fighting value when the outbreak occurred.

BHOPAL

One hundred miles north-east of Indur is Bhopal, a Muhammadan State, which had been governed for ten years by a very remarkable lady, Sikandah Begam, acting as Regent for her daughter. The Begam was an ardent but prudent reformer ; she changed entirely the fiscal system, established a mint, abolished monopolies, reorganised the police, and paid off the Public Debt within six years. From 1849 till 1854 she had the daily advice and support of Colonel Durand, one of those large-minded, self-reliant Britons, who represented England according to his own fine nature, before a paralysing centralisation was effected by telegraphy.

The Begam doubtless learnt much from Durand—above all, she learnt to rely on a British gentleman's word. She disregarded the counsels of her bigoted mother, uncles, and other influential Muhammadans, who urged her to declare a religious war against the Christians. When her own Contingents mutinied at Sihor she had the British officers escorted to Hoshangabad, she restored order in her dominions, and later on furnished soldiers and supplies to the Government. Some of the Begam's troops, who, as Durand hoped, were loyal, arrived at Indur on May 20, and in the middle of June Colonel Travers brought some more cavalry from Sihor, and assumed command at the

Residency. Then Holkar's Cavalry, known to be tainted, were sent by the Maharajah into the districts. Durand learnt from many sources that persistent efforts were being made by emissaries from the Regulars at Mau to win over the Bhopal Contingent and Holkar's troops; but the Resident hoped that the arrival of a column, coming up from Puna in the Bombay Presidency, might avert an outbreak. It was diverted in its march, however, to suppress some disturbances at Aurangabad, lest the Nizam's troops might waver in fidelity to our Government. Unfortunately, after completing an easy task, the column was kept at Aurangabad for some time against the wishes of Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay.

At 8 a.m. on July 1, at Indur, while Colonel Travers was talking to the Native officers of the Bhopal Contingent, and some of the men were bathing, others cooking, Holkar's troops mutinied and opened fire from 3 guns on the Residency. At first the Bhopal Contingent saddled up willingly, while Colonel Travers, galloping to the picket, ordered it to advance. Three times he formed it up; three times the men broke off from the rear, having been won over by a rebel named Saadat Khan, one of Holkar's retainers. Though the men were undecided, Travers ordered a charge, and, leading on the guns, followed by 5 men only, wounded the rebel leader, Saadat Khan, and drove off the gunners. Holkar's infantry, after some hesitation, opened fire on Travers and his five faithful troopers, who then retired. Travers now despatched a note Durand had written to the officer commanding at Mau, asking for assistance. Holkar's mutinous troops, having recovered their guns, reopened fire on the Residency; but Travers brought 2 of the Bhopal Contingent guns into

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action, manned by 2 European sergeants and 14 faithful Natives, and, knocking over one of the rebels' guns, drove back the infantry. He then tried to induce the cavalry to charge, but in vain. Some troopers galloped off to Sihor, and others remained inactive; the Hindus, Muhammadans, and Sikhs, mutually distrusting each other, sheltered in groups under walls from the rebels' fire, but would not fight. Travers again appealed, but ineffectually, to his cavalry. Then he tried again to lead forward the infantry, who would have shot him had not a faithful Sipahi intervened. The Malwa Contingent refused absolutely to act; 12 infantry soldiers of the Bhopal Contingent were obedient, but the remainder levelled their muskets at the British officers. Colonel Durand now received a message from the Bhopal cavalry that they were going off, and begged that the women and children might accompany them. Seventeen European non-combatants, with 11 ladies, were placed on gun-waggons and carried away, with the loss of only one man; for the cavalry, though refusing to attack the rebels, would not allow the officers to be killed. The families of the Contingent were at Sihor, and there the cavalry went, declining to obey the order to march on Mau.

When Colonel Durand's note was delivered at that station, Major Hungerford's battery, manned by European gunners and Native drivers, marched for Indur; but when half-way to the Residency they heard that the white men had left it, and returned to Mau. Holkar's soldiers and the city rabble of Indur massacred 39 Christians, most of them being Eurasians. That night the Regular cavalry and infantry at Mau rose at 9 o'clock, set fire to the officers' quarters, killing the commanding officer and an adjutant. Major Hunger-

ford, by the light of the blazing houses, brought his battery into action on the Sipahi lines, from which the soldiers hastened to Indur. There next morning they called on Holkar to deliver up 10 Europeans and Eurasians and some Native Christians he had sheltered, but the Maharajah refused, and protected them. Colonel Durand joined the Aurangabad column just in time to prevent its being again diverted from the Central India trunk road towards Nagpur, and with it he reached Mau on August 2.

AGRA

The mutinies in Central India affected the situation at Agra, and towards the end of June the city was nearly isolated. On July 3 Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor, became seriously ill, and, taking up his residence in the fort, made over his charge to a committee of 3 officials. He resumed nominal control within a day or two, when, however, the responsibility had become mainly military. Mr. Colvin's health had given way under incessant work and anxiety for the lives of his officers and the welfare of the great province over which he had ruled ; and, though in his last days he saw it was falling to pieces, he never despaired of ultimate success. He died on September 9, from overwork ; in the words of the Governor-General, " worn by the unceasing anxieties and labours of his charge." Lord Canning, in a general order, warmly acknowledged Mr. Colvin's " high ability and untiring energy."

Early in July 4000 mutinous Sipahis, 1500 horsemen, with 16 guns from Central India, including 1 battalion of the Gwalior Contingent, which had gone to Dholpar with the Bengal troops, after their mutiny at

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Nimach, advanced from Fathpur-Sikri on Agra. The Native battalions at Agra had been disarmed and disbanded on May 31, and the Brigadier commanded 560 European infantry, a squadron of officers and civilians 160 strong, a small Militia battalion and a battery. This force was ample to defend the fort, but insufficient to hold it and the station; and after much consideration the general marched out at 1 p.m., on July 5, and met the enemy about 3 p.m. posted in and behind the village of Sassiah, 5 miles from Agra, with guns hidden behind the crest of rising ground. The Brigadier was personally a brave man. He accepted advice of all kinds when in Agra, but his advance to give battle was his own idea. When, however, his mounted Volunteer picket at Shahganj, 4 miles out, reported the enemy a mile distant, he, unfortunately, at the critical moment, could not make up his mind to hazard the only European infantry available between Agra and the Godaveri River in Bombay, 900 miles distant; and so for two and a half hours he engaged in an artillery duel, disregarding the repeated reports of Captains D'Oyly and Pearson, who were engaged on either flank, that their guns were outmatched and that their ammunition would soon be expended. Two ammunition waggons in Pearson's half battery were successively blown up, but the effective gunners, although some had been killed and others burnt and thrown into the air, never flinched, and, having dragged the burning waggons clear of the battery, soon reopened fire. When the second explosion occurred, several rebel squadrons made a demonstration towards the guns, but they were repulsed by case-shot and by the infantry escort before they got close up.

Simultaneously two squadrons advanced on the right half battery, when Captain Prendergast, with

18 mounted officers and civilians, charged their 200 adversaries, and though 8 of these heroic Britons were cut down in the hand-to-hand struggle which ensued, the rebel squadrons were driven back. When the battery had nearly expended its ammunition, and the left half was practically wrecked, the Brigadier did at last that which three hours earlier would have given him a victory, and sent the infantry 3rd European (2nd Royal Sussex) Regiment at the village, which they took at once, in spite of heavy losses from the fire of Sipahis on the roofs of houses. A gun was captured and spiked; and, though every house was stoutly defended, the rebels were driven out. Captain D'Oyly, who had been mortally wounded, ordered his men to place him on an ammunition waggon, whence he directed the fire of his guns on the retreating Sipahis till intense pain overcame him. Then, turning to the nearest man, he said: "They have done for me now; put a stone over my grave, and say I died fighting my guns."

The enemy soon realised that the British batteries had no more ammunition, and were forming for attack, when the Brigadier ordered the retreat. The rebel cavalry made several advances, but always stopped when the 3rd European (2nd Royal Sussex) Regiment waiting for them shot the foremost men. The enemy's artillery ran short of ammunition, and they fired copper coins as case-shot. There was a small troop of Militia cavalry, mostly Eurasian clerks, under Mr. Bramly-Jennings, Bengal Civil Service, whose men sat immovable under heavy fire from the enemy's guns. This troop covered the British retreat, which was steadily carried out, though one gun was necessarily, for want of horses, left on the ground. It was brought in

two days later, for the mutineers marched from Shahganj to Dehli just as the British column fell back. Our loss was 150 killed and wounded. The Brigadier was superseded by order of the Governor-General, and two days later authority in the city was re-established, after the Cantonment had been burnt by disaffected inhabitants and some 25 Christians had been massacred, most of them by the mutinous Native police.

THE DEHLI COLUMN

When, early on October 10, the dusty, ragged soldiers of the Dehli column, crossing over the Jamnah, halted under the Agra Fort, the local authorities, who had prayed for their aid so urgently, wasted two hours discussing where the camp should be pitched. Though the infantry had been carried on various animals, yet they had covered 44 miles in twenty-eight hours and had enjoyed but little sleep. As a British battalion passed under the walls, a lady, looking at the weary, theadbare, sunburnt soldiers, mistook them for Afghans.

The Brigadier in command of the column was assured by the local authorities that the enemy, alarmed by the approach of the column, had retired 12 miles behind the Kari-Nadi, an affluent of the Jamnah. It transpired later that the rebels had no information of the approach of the Dehli column. The Staff work of the Agra garrison must have been very badly done, for a major of the Militia battalion, who had been on picket during the night of October 9-10, reported, when he came off duty, that the enemy was advancing, and had fired on his scouts. The major's report was discredited, and was

apparently not passed on to his seniors in the garrison. The officer commanding the Dehli column, trusting the assurance of the garrison authorities, foolishly neglected to take the usual military precautions. No outposts were placed. The cavalry and artillery horses had been picketed a mile and a half from the fort. The Brigadier and many officers had gone to breakfast in the fort; some of the fagged troops were lying down, others in shirt-sleeves were pitching tents, while the greater part were sleeping until the waggons should arrive. The parade ground was covered by European visitors from the fort and thousands of Natives from the city, anxious to see the troops who had captured Dehli.

Four Natives, apparently unarmed and harmless snake-charmers, strolled up to the guard of the 9th Lancers, and on being ordered away snatched swords from underneath their flowing robes, and the leader, with one sweeping cut, killed Sergeant Crews. Sergeant Hartington, who was not on duty, but standing near, running up to help Crews, had his head cut open and his skull fractured; yet, closing with the Native, he wrenched away his sword, killing him with it and wounding another man. As the guard were killing the other three men, 12 guns in action, 400 yards off, on the far side of a field of maize 8 feet high, opened on the scattered troops and the long procession of baggage waggons just arriving on the encamping ground. Visitors, Natives, doli-bearers carrying sick, elephants, camels, and ox-waggons fled in consternation towards the fort, knocking down, in their frantic terror, some of the officers, who having heard the sound of the guns, leaving their breakfasts, were hastening out to rejoin their men. The rebel cavalry, riding boldly over the ground, cut

down the detachment of one gun, and were carrying it off, when Captain French, 9th Lancers, and Lieutenant Jones, charging at the head of a troop, drove them back. French was killed and Jones received 22 sword cuts, nearly all on the skull and face. When the Brigadier, hurrying out, arrived on the ground, his artillery were in action, and numerous hand-to-hand struggles were in progress. He led forward the infantry, while Colonel Ouvry, with the 9th Lancers, and Lieutenant Hugh (now V.C., General, G.C.B.) Gough, with a squadron of Panjabis, overthrew the enemy's horsemen on their right flank. Lieutenants Probyn (now V.C., General the Right Hon., G.C.B.), Watson (now V.C., General, G.C.B.), and Younghusband led forward their squadrons on the enemy's left; and Watson, by an opportune charge, vigorously pushed home on the flank, captured 2 guns and some standards. Lieutenant Probyn showed distinguished courage; in one of the many charges in that tumultuous fight he was separated from his men and surrounded by rebels; but, after slaying two, he cut his way out and then captured a flag. Watson's charge on the British right, coinciding with that on the left, routing the foe, virtually decided the victory, though some brave rebels still fought, sheltered by high-standing crops. The British infantry halted at the enemy's camp, 5 miles south of Agra, but the mounted troops pursued the flying foe 7 miles farther. The enemy lost 13 guns, their camp, and all their baggage. Probyn and Jones still live to wear the Victoria Cross. Jones received it for his gallant conduct at Badli-ki-Serai on June 8. Probyn and Sergeant Hartington earned the decoration outside the Agra Fort.

The column, reinforced by some detachments,

marched on October 14 towards Cawnpur, the command being taken over by Brigadier Hope Grant, C.B., who had at last been permitted to leave Dehli. He received on the 21st a letter from General Outram in Lucknow, written in Greek characters, asking for speedy relief, as food was running short. This was a miscalculation, as when Sir Colin Campbell evacuated the Residency, a month later, 160,000 lbs. of wheat were brought away.

Near Kanouj, on the 23rd, a squadron of the 9th Lancers and two Panjab squadrons, under Probyn and Watson, rode into 500 rebels, capturing 4 guns, and pursuing the fugitives to the swift-flowing Ganges, into which the enemy's cavalry plunged, very few reaching the opposite side. One escaped in a remarkable manner; he had been driven into the water by a 9th Lancer man, but returning on being called, walked up to him. The Lancer fired his pistol at the Sipahi's breast, but the bullet had fallen out, and the man jumped back, dived into the river, and though, as Colonel Ouvry said, at least 1000 shots were fired at him, he reached the far bank, and escaped.

Hope Grant, leaving Cawnpur on October 30, after a skirmish, captured a gun and was then ordered to halt near Banni, north of the Sai River, to await the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell.

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CHAPTER XIII

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL AT LUCKNOW

AT Calcutta, on August 17, General Sir Colin Campbell assumed the duties of Commander-in-Chief in India.

The son of McLiver, a working carpenter in Glasgow, Colin, born Oct. 20, 1792, was received when an infant by his mother's maiden sisters, and educated at their expense at the Glasgow High School, and afterwards at Gosport. When he was fifteen, his mother's brother, Colonel Campbell, obtained a commission for him. Being accidentally gazetted as "Colin Campbell," he was so known till 1858, when he became Lord Clyde. He fought at Vimiera, Corunna, Barrosa, Vittoria, and on the Bidassoa, and had been three times severely wounded when at the age of twenty-one he was promoted to be captain in 1813. Napier, in his history, describing the disastrous assault on St. Sebastian, wrote of the future peer: "It was in vain that Lieutenant Campbell, breaking through the tumultuous crowd with the survivors of his chosen detachment, mounted the ruins; twice he ascended, twice he was wounded, and all around him died." He was sixty-five years of age when he left England for the East on twenty-four hours' notice; but he was active, energetic, and possessed of a personal courage that could not be shaken.

When the Commander-in-Chief landed the outlook

was unfavourable. Rohilkhand and Oudh were no longer under British rule; Central India and the Panjab were in a state of dangerous unrest. At Dehli our besieging forces were being attacked; Cawnpur had fallen by an act of the grossest treachery, coupled with brutal ferocity unexampled even in the East. No provision had been made for equipping, provisioning, tenting, and transporting the 14,000 men coming from the United Kingdom. During October Sir Colin sent forward 6 battalions and 700 artillerymen at the rate of 200 men daily; but it was not till the 27th of the month that the Chief was able to leave Calcutta, travelling with his Staff in post-carts without escort, and depending for safety on the detachments moving up in bullock waggons. He nearly fell into the hands of the rebels, for a party on 14 elephants, and 25 horsemen, crossed the road near Benares, 500 yards in front of the leading carts of his Staff. This incident illustrates the general anarchy which prevailed on both sides of the line of communications. Gallant and generally successful efforts were made by Civil servants and soldiers, acting as administrators, with insufficient means to stem the tide of disorder, and only one of the detachments proceeding up the road at that time was seriously engaged.

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On November 2, the day Sir Colin reached Allahabad, Captain Peel, V.C., Royal Navy, brought to a successful conclusion a fight initiated by Colonel Powell, 53rd Regiment. Powell had arrived at Fathpur, half-way between Allahabad and Cawnpur, at midnight on October 31, and hearing an enemy was in position at Kajwa, 20 miles west of the trunk road, he moved on at 5 a.m. on November 1 with 2 companies of the 53rd (1st Shropshire Light Infantry), some small detachments of different regi-

ments, 100 Naval Brigade under Captain Peel, and two 9-pounder guns, totalling 530 all ranks. At 3 a.m. on the 2nd the enemy was found outside Kajwa, about 2000 Regulars, mainly of the mutinous Danapur regiments, and an equal number of villagers, with 3 guns. Captain Peel drove back the enemy's left, while Colonel Powell, clearing the rebel skirmishers out of corn-fields, captured 2 guns, but was shot dead as he did so. Peel pushed on, and, cutting through the enemy's centre, seized their camp. He had no mounted men, and had suffered a loss of 95 casualties, or one-sixth of his force, which, having marched 72 miles in three days, could not pursue; but the demoralised enemy abandoned their third gun, which was brought into camp.

When Sir Colin Campbell reached Cawnpur that station was threatened by numerous Sipahis in Oudh, who had retreated from Dehli; and by the Nana, who was moving on Kalpi with 5000 men, about to be reinforced by the Gwalior Contingent, which was expected at that place about November 9, with 24 field-guns, 16 heavy guns, and much ammunition. The Maharajah Sindhia had kept the Contingent near his capital until after the fall of Dehli became known, when the men, resenting their Chief's plainly expressed delight at the success of the British troops, accepted terms offered by the Rani of Jhansi, and Tantia Topi. The latter, acting for the Nana, assumed command, and moved at once to threaten Cawnpur.

Major-General Sir James Outram urged the Commander-in-Chief to postpone the relief of the Lucknow Residency till he had dealt with the rebel forces near Kalpi, and added, "We can manage to screw on till the end of November on further reduced rations." The rebel forces near Kalpi were on the far side of the Jamnah,

where they had collected all available boats. Even if Sir Colin had crossed the river, Tantia Topi might have fallen back; and so he determined to adhere to his plan, which was to get out our people from the Residency as his first objective.

Major-General Sir Charles Windham, who had taken part in the unsuccessful assault on the Redan at Sevastopol three years earlier, was left in command at Cawnpur with 500 men, made up by small detachments of several regiments. He was directed to send forward all Europeans as they arrived unless seriously threatened, when according to his instructions he was to ask for fresh orders. He was authorised to retain a brigade of Madras troops, expected on the 10th, until Tantia Topi's movements were ascertained; but this reinforcement, owing to detachments being left to hold the lines of communication, amounted only to one battalion and 4 guns up to November 28. The general was directed to make as great a show of troops as possible; but he was not to leave the station in order to attack the enemy, except to save the intrenchment, which had been strengthened, against bombardment. Though some work had been done, 2000 labourers being employed, the position was surrounded by houses and walled gardens; and, as the Native city was within a few yards of the parapets, its defence was difficult. Nov. 1857

KAVANAGH'S DISGUISE

The Commander-in-Chief joined Hope Grant's camp, 4 miles north of the Banni River, on November 9, and next morning sent a large convoy to the Alambagh, 9 miles distant; the waggons returning brought back all sick and wounded.

Soon after daylight on the 10th, Mr. Kavanagh, a clerk in the Civil Service, disguised as a Native, arrived at Sir Colin's tent. The son of a British soldier born in India, Kavanagh had from his local knowledge been very useful to General Outram, and he volunteered to pass through the rebel forces in order to act as a guide to Sir Colin Campbell. Both Colonel Napier, under whom Kavanagh served as an engineer, and General Outram demurred to the risk, intensified in the clerk's case by his stature, unusual amongst natives, and by his colouring. He had very fair, freckled skin, light blue eyes, and hair nearly red, and was one of the fairest Britons the writer of this narrative has ever seen. Kavanagh reiterated his offer; and, having told his wife and children he was going on duty in the mines, he was stained with lampblack, disguised as a swash-buckler, and left the Residency at 9 o'clock with Kanauji Sal, a spy, who was returning to the Alambagh.

Kavanagh in his narrative, published in 1858, says the plunge into the Gumti so chilled his body and enterprise that he would have pulled back the guide if he had been within reach. The two men passed through the city; they were stopped three times and questioned by guards, but, though the guide missed the track to the Alambagh, they reached a picket of the Panjab Cavalry before daylight. He was the first civilian to win the Victoria Cross; received a gift of £2000, and was raised from the position of a clerk to that of an Assistant Commissioner.

CAMPBELL'S ADVANCE

Sir Colin Campbell's plan was to store the tents and baggage in the Alambagh, and then to seize, in succession, the Dilkusha, Martinière, and Sikandarbagh.

At sunrise on November 13 the troops moved forward, carrying 17 days' food—3 on the men, 14 on camels and carts. The main body and the advanced guard, after proceeding 3 miles, were attacked by 2000 men with 2 guns. The guns were soon silenced by Bouchier's battery, and the rebels were trying to remove them when Lieutenant Gough (now V.C., General, G.C.B.), with a squadron of Hodson's Horse, by making a wide turning movement under cover of standing crops, passed through a swamp, and charged the enemy on their flank, capturing the guns, and dispersing the Sipahis. Gough, fighting hand-to-hand with 3 rebels, escaped injury, though his turban was cut through, and his horse wounded in two places. He received the Victoria Cross for this deed.

On the afternoon of November 13 a strong reconnaissance was made from the camp pitched near the Alambagh towards the Charbagh bridge, and still farther west, to attract the enemy's attention to that line of advance; and Sir Colin Campbell, leaving a garrison of 400 men in the Alambagh, at 9 a.m. on the 14th moved eastwards, with 4200 men, for 3 miles parallel to, but $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of, the track followed by Havelock in September. The Dilkusha was taken without resistance, the rebels expecting the advance would be by the Charbagh; and but little stand was made at the Martinière, 1000 yards farther north, the enemy retreating as the infantry with levelled bayonets ran at the enclosure wall, and the cavalry chased them into the canal. Lieutenant Watson (now V.C., General, G.C.B.), Panjab Cavalry, rode alone into the flying mass, and, in a hand-to-hand combat, slew the rebel leader, a finely-built officer, 15th Irregular Cavalry. Six troopers now attacked Watson (now V.C., General, G.C.B.), and he

must have been killed had not Probyn, galloping up with two squadrons, rescued him. Watson for this feat and "gallantry on many other occasions" received the Victoria Cross.

Two counter attacks made on the British bivouacs between the Martinière and Dilkusha were easily repulsed, on the second occasion the Sipahis being followed up beyond the canal. The enemy had clung so persistently to the rearguard that Lieutenant-Colonel E. Ewart, 93rd (2nd Argyll and Sutherland) Highlanders, being engaged constantly, did not reach the bivouac till the 15th. The fourteen days' supplies and reserve ammunition were stored in the Dilkusha Palace, 300 men being left as a guard.

At noon the enemy attacked the northern or right flank of the British position, but were soon driven back; and in the afternoon a reconnaissance towards the Dilkusha bridge was made on the British left. The Begam Palace and the barracks beyond it were bombarded at the same time. The rebels, expecting an attack between the Dilkusha and Charbagh bridges, had deepened the water there by damming the canal. This had the effect of draining it between Dilkusha and the Gumti for a distance of 2000 yards, and thus, when our troops advanced from the right flank at 8 a.m. on the 16th, the banks not being steep, there was no difficulty in crossing, even for the heavy guns. The advanced guard, composed of cavalry, Blunt's Horse battery, and a company of the 53rd (1st Shropshire Light Infantry) Regiment, followed by the main body, moved along the bank of the Gumti for a mile, then, bending to the left, passed through low houses and gardens into the village of Sultanganj without being fired on. The column there wheeled round to the southward, and when passing an opening

in the village was fired on from the Sikandarbagh (Alexander's garden) and adjacent buildings. The enclosure was 120 yards square, with high walls of strong masonry. On the corners were bastions with houses, and in the centre of the enclosure was a two-storey house with a flat roof from which, and from the carefully loopholed walls a shower of bullets fired at close range was poured on the head of the advanced guard, which was pelted also from houses on right and left of the road. Confusion ensued; for though the company of the 53rd, which lined the bank, returned the fire, they were too few in number to keep down that of the enemy. The tracks in front were barricaded by abatis, the lane to the rear was blocked by infantry and guns.

The Chief rode forward and ordered Blunt's battery into action, riding himself up a steep bank bordering the track; and while sitting alongside a gun he was hit by a bullet which, passing through and killing a gunner, contused Sir Colin's thigh. Blunt lost many men, but remained in the open, his subdivisions (sections) having three separate targets—the right, the Sikandarbagh, at close range; the centre, an opposing battery at the Kaisarbagh 2000 yards distant; and the left, some huts which were very close, and whence most of the effective fire came.

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The cavalry were got away into side lanes, and the 93rd (2nd Argyll and Sutherland) Highlanders charged the nearest huts till they came to a dead wall. Sir Colin shouted, "Tear off the tiles; go in through the roof," and was instantly obeyed, the rebels being driven out and pursued. Somewhat later 2 of the enemy's guns were charged and captured by Captain Drummond Stewart, 93rd, assisted by a few 53rd men, and, Stewart rushing on, seized the "Rest-

house" (Serai) which stood immediately to the south of the Sikandarbagh, and a large building called "The Barracks," still farther south. It was built in the form of a cross, and, being clear of houses, some of the Highlanders worked to render it defensible, while the 53rd, in extended order, kept up connection with Blunt's battery. Soon after that officer had unlimbered 2 of Captain Travers's 18-pounders came up, and the sappers having lowered the bank, the guns were, on Sir Colin's order, hauled up by Captain (Field-Marshal Viscount) Wolseley's company, 90th Light Infantry (2nd Scottish Rifles), and brought into action under heavy fire 70 yards from the south-east corner of the Sikandarbagh.

THE SIKANDARBAGH

The infantry had closed up and were, by order, lying down in a copse, sheltered from fire by a low bank, when half an hour later a loud cheer announced a breach had been made in a bricked-up doorway in the wall. The Chief, now uncovering, waved his cap; and as the bugle sounded the "Advance" a determined race ensued between the Highlanders and Sikhs, who were followed by some of the 53rd, and some of Barnston's composite battalion. The Sikhs, led by Captain Gopal Singh, who ran 5 yards in front of his men, got a slight start by moving when Sir Colin waved his cap, and before the bugle sounded. There has been much controversy as to who was first through the breach, Colonel Malleson stating that a private, 4th Panjabis, and a private, 93rd Highlanders, were the first two up; both were killed. Captain Blunt saw Lieutenant Cooper, 93rd (2nd Argyll and Sutherland) Highlanders, jump through the hole, which was

only 3 feet square, like a harlequin goes through a pantomime shop window ; but there was enough honour for many. Lieutenant Burroughs, Captain Lumsden, Bengal Infantry, attached to the 93rd, Corporals Fraser, Dunlay, and Private Nairne were amongst the first to scramble through the hole, and they engaged the attention of the Sipahis until more Highlanders and Sikhs came up. Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart, accompanied by Lumsden and followed by a dozen soldiers of both nations, ran up a path to the right, and, turning at an angle of the wall, came in front of a square building in the centre of the east side of the enclosure, with a courtyard behind it. There were many Sipahis near; some in front of, others inside, the house, and more in the courtyard behind the building. Those in front hastily retreated inside, and were followed up by our men, the rebels trying to escape by a small doorway which led into the courtyard at the back of the house. Lieutenant Cooper, a powerful young man, with an unusually long sword, had cut down several Sipahis, when he was attacked by a Native officer of the Lodiana Regiment, armed with sword and shield. Both men struck at the same moment; the rebel lowered his shield a little as he swung his sword, and Cooper cleft his skull by a fair straight blow on the head, the rebel's sword dividing the Highlander's bonnet and going deep into his head. Captain Lumsden, an Aberdeenshire man, fighting hard, was shot dead as he cheered on the few Highlanders following him.

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Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart, forcing his way into the courtyard, led on the little party against the Sipahis standing at its far end. Those who had loaded muskets fired a volley within 10 yards of him, but the bullets went over Ewart's head, one only piercing

his bonnet. The opposing bodies then fought hand to hand, one finely-built man singling out Ewart, who shot him, and then reloading, 6 others with a revolver as they closed on him in succession. The superior number of the rebels must, however, have been fatal to our men but that they were now supported by the brigade, which had entered by a gateway.

On entering the breach Lieutenant Burroughs had turned to the left towards the main gateway, followed by Corporals Fraser and Dunlay and Private Nairne. They were attacked by a number of rebels, who charged out of the gatehouse, and retired firing, until reinforced by a few more men, when Burroughs again advanced, and had a series of hand-to-hand encounters at the gatehouse. While cutting at one Sipahi another hit his feather bonnet, "denting it down, like a bishop's mitre," but at this moment a number of Highlanders and Panjabis rushed through the adjoining gateway.

There was a traverse (earth and masonry wall) outside it, held by the rebels. Some of the Panjabis, followed by Highlanders, on arriving at the breach and finding it crowded, ran on towards the gateway, and, gallantly led by a Native captain, charged the traverse, driving back the rebels, who fled inside. The massive door was being closed as the last rebel ran in, when Lieutenant (now Field Marshal, V.C., Earl) Roberts saw Private Mukurrab Khan, by thrusting in his arms, first one till it was slashed, and then the other, which was nearly severed at the wrist, hold the door open till the weight of his comrades forced it back, while some 53rd (Shropshire) men broke through an adjoining window. The struggle that ensued was bloody, the Sipahis fought like undaunted men with no possible escape, determined to slay ere they were slain. In the pauses

of the nearly incessant musketry were heard the execrations of the rebels and the deep-drawn exhortations of the Britons: "Boys, Cawnpur—remember Cawnpur."

The rebels were slowly pushed across the enclosure, towards the north wall. Many were in the bastions, at the angles of the enclosure and in the houses, from the windows of which they fired rapidly, some brave men descending in order to end quickly their lives in personal combat. The assailants, mounting the outside staircases step by step, and using the bayonet, finally broke into the houses and flung the transfixed bodies of their foes on to the flower-beds below.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart, seeing a Colour in a bastion, entered the room where two Native officers guarded the flag, and, though both wounded him, he slew the pair, and later in the day presented the Colour to the Chief. In one of the bastions, determinedly held by rebels, a strong door resisted all the combined efforts of our officers and men, who threw their bodies against it. A gun was brought into the enclosure and laid on the door, shattering it in pieces, and then our men rushing in completed the slaughter, the nooks and corners of every room becoming scenes of struggles for life or death.

Nov. 16
1857

The Sipahis as they fell back across the enclosure heaped up their dead and wounded comrades as parapets, behind which they fired, and the men's clothes catching fire added to the horrors of the fight, which ended only when 2000 men of those inside lay dead. Dunlay was given the Victoria Cross for the gallant manner in which, although wounded, he backed up Lieutenant Burroughs in the struggle at the gatehouse.

The officers of the 93rd (2nd Argyll and Sutherland) Highlanders were allowed to nominate an officer

for the Victoria Cross. Several voted for Ewart and Cooper. Drummond Stewart's brilliant capture of the rebels' guns in the open had, however, been witnessed by many, while the desperate hand-to-hand fighting inside the high walls of the Sikandarbagh was seen only by the few therein engaged, and Stewart polled one more vote than Ewart.

Sir Colin Campbell, with all his experience of many hard fights since St. Sebastian, wrote of the capture of the Sikandarbagh: "There never was a bolder feat of arms." The Highlanders and 4th Panjabis had many casualties, 3 out of the 4 British officers, who had led the brave Sikhs, having been killed or wounded.

Captain Blunt's Horse battery also lost heavily that day, and when he left it in January 1858, 99 of the 113 officers and men, who had marched out of Ambala with him, had been killed or wounded.

THE FAILURE AT THE SHAH NAJAF

The direct road across the flat ground to the Residency ran between the Sikandarbagh and the Serai 1500 yards due west to the Moti Mahall (Pearl Palace). A mosque called Kadam Rasul (Prophet's Footprint), which stood on a mound, 300 yards north-west of the Sikandarbagh, and the same distance north of the road, was easily captured, and occupied by a party of the 2nd Panjabis. Some houses in ruins bordered the south side of the road 300 yards farther on; and 250 yards farther west, that is, 550 yards west of the Sikandarbagh, stood the Shah Najaf, the mausoleum of the first King of Oudh, built in 1814. It was 150 yards north of the Residency road, and 180 yards south of the Gumti. The mosque was

enclosed by strongly-built stone walls, 20 feet high, which had been loopholed, and on top of the domed tomb musketry parapets had been built. The doors had been covered by an outwork of masonry. East and west of the enclosure were scattered houses standing in gardens with high trees and tall vegetation. This strong position guarded the approach to the Residency, 2000 yards farther westward.

Captain Wolseley was ordered by Brigadier-General Adrian Hope to seize some ruins of Native soldiers' huts, from which Sipahis were firing effectively on Blunt's battery, then in action against mutineers occupying the houses, scrub, and gardens east of the main enclosure. Nov. 16
1857

Wolseley had been severely wounded in the right leg in 1852, when storming a Burmese stockade, and in both legs before the Redan at Sevastopol in 1855; but, catching hold of the general's stirrup, as he trotted up in front of the company, the captain was enabled to lead his men in a rapid charge and seize the ruins. The dense foliage of the trees partly concealed the formidable nature of the enemy's position, and Sir Colin called Major Barnston, 90th Light Infantry (2nd Scottish Rifles), (described recently by Lord Wolseley as "One of the very best soldiers I ever met"), and ordered him to try and enter the Shah Najaf, adding: "If you cannot force your way in, get your men under cover, come back, and tell me what you have done and seen." Major Barnston led forward the composite battalion with his usual determination; he could find no opening in the walls of the main enclosure, and failed in his efforts to force an entrance. He came back, reported to the Chief, and was returning to his men, when a shell bursting at the muzzle of a gun in Blunt's battery mortally wounded him. The

hot fire, coupled with his fall, caused some of the men to fall back. Captain (later Field-Marshal Sir Henry) Norman rallied and sent them forward again, and then, supports coming up, the buildings east of the enclosure were seized and burnt.

Captain Peel's 24-pounders battered for three hours the thick wall in vain, but no impression was made on the enemy, who brought a heavy battery into position on the north bank of the Gumti, which blew up one of the naval ammunition waggons. This misfortune, together with the close musketry fire from the loop-holed walls, inducing many casualties, caused the attack to slacken; our men were falling fast, and the crisis of the day was at hand. The confident, cheery look which nearly always lit up Captain Sir William Peel's handsome face when he was in action had been replaced by an anxious but determined expression. Sir Colin Campbell ordered Captain Middleton's battery to move close up to the enclosure to fire with case-shot, while the sailors dragged their 24-pounders as close as it was possible to fire them at the walls, but even then the solid structure remained unbroken, and the losses were so heavy that at one gun all the crew (detachment) were killed or wounded except Able Seaman William Hall (a negro), who continued to sponge and load for some time without assistance. He received the Victoria Cross.

Sir Colin Campbell at 4 o'clock assembled the 93rd Highlanders and addressed the men: "I had not intended to employ you again to-day, but as the artillery cannot drive out the enemy from that building you must take it with your bayonets, and I will lead you;" and so he did, close up to the angle of the walls. He lost many of his companions, his two aides-de-camp, the brothers Alison, were severely

wounded, and several of the Staff were shot. Eventually, at nightfall, the Chief, though most reluctantly, admitted failure; indeed, without a breach or scaling ladders ingress was impossible, and he ordered a retirement to be carried out as soon as the dead and wounded had been taken back to the Serai opposite the Sikandarbagh.

The naval rocket tubes sent flights of missiles over the walls to cover the withdrawal of the guns, which apparently scared the Sipahis, for they evacuated the Shah Najaf about the time our troops began to retire.

When Captain Allgood, a Staff officer, took Sir Colin Campbell's order for retirement to Brigadier-General Adrian Hope, the latter observed: "It is mortifying; let us try and look in before we retire." Sergeant Paton, 93rd (2nd Argyll and Sutherland) Highlanders, had previously crept through the gardens alone, and thought he saw a hole high up in the far wall. Hope and Allgood, guided by the sergeant, led 50 Highlanders round and pushed up a soldier with some difficulty, who reported the enclosure was empty. The whole party then climbed up, and some sappers enlarged the hole, when Hope advanced and opened the main gateway. The troops that night held a semi-circle from the Kadam Rasul, by the Sikandarbagh, to the barracks. Paton, nominated by his brother sergeants, received the Victoria Cross.

Nov. 16
1857

On November 17 Sir Colin Campbell sent Brigadier-General Russell to capture Bank's house, west of the Dilkusha bridge, and four adjoining bungalows, and link them up with the barracks seized on the 16th. The work was well done, but in seizing and maintaining the line there was continuous fighting on the 17th and 18th, Russell was wounded, and his successor, Colonel Biddulph, shot through the head.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, who then assumed command on the spot, brought up a 24-pounder Howitzer on November 18 to answer the fire of an 18-pounder in action only 120 yards distant. A hospital, standing equi-distant from the barracks and the bungalows, was gallantly carried, but the rebels firing the thatched roof as they retired, the heat drove out Hale's men, who, however, held the bungalows. A soldier, wounded in storming the hospital, was inadvertently left in the garden for an hour and a half after our men retired. A drummer remained with him, and returning to a picket at the bungalow asked for help, when Lieutenant H. E. Harrington, Bengal Artillery, led a party into the garden, under heavy fire, and carried out the wounded man. Lieutenant Harrington was nominated by his brother officers, and received the Victoria Cross: "For conspicuous acts of bravery, performed between the 14th and 22nd November."

During the six weeks General Outram's force was blockaded in the Residency many successful sorties were made, and underground warfare was unremittingly carried out. Shafts, totalling 200 feet in depth, and galleries equal to 3000 feet in length were dug, nearly always resulting in disaster to the enemy.

The general had learnt daily, by signals, Sir Colin's progress after he had left the Alambagh, and, during the obstinate struggles in the Sikandarbagh, had directed General Havelock to demolish by explosions the southern walls of the Farhat Bakhsh, and uncover batteries, mounting 17 pieces of ordnance, which had been prepared. After four hours' cannonade 800 infantry, cheering enthusiastically, carried by a determined rush the engine-house, and Haran Khana

(Deer House); now the buildings standing west of the Moti Mahall, and the 32nd Mess house, were the only direct obstacles intervening between the Garrison and Relieving forces.

THE FINAL ASSAULT

At daylight on November 17 the 93rd Colour Nov. 17
1857 hoisted on the dome of the Shah Najaf was answered by a flag on the roof of the Chatar Manzil. While the left flank was being secured by the capture of the bungalows, and Bank's house, the Naval Brigade and artillery bombarded the Mess house, which stood 450 yards from the Shah Najaf, and 100 yards south of the Residency road, on the opposite side of which was the outer wall of the Moti Mahall (Pearl Palace) enclosure.

The Mess house, strongly built of masonry on rising ground, was surrounded by a deep reveted ditch, 12 feet broad, crossed by drawbridges on the east and west sides, which were defended by loopholed walls. The house and garden, both enclosed by loopholed walls of unbaked bricks, were held by the enemy in force.

When the soldiers had eaten some food, for which there had been no leisure the previous day, gun limbers and pouches were refilled, and the bodies of 1857 Sipahis were buried in long trenches by the roadside. Colonel Hale was still fighting at the hospital, south of the bungalows, when, long after noon, Sir Colin Campbell sent for Captain Wolseley, and, with many flattering remarks, said that his company was to storm the Mess house, and if he failed, which seemed to be probable, he was to put the men under cover and personally return to report what he had seen. He was to be supported by the composite battalion under Captain J. C. Guise, who

had succeeded Major Barnston, and by a picket of the 53rd (1st Shropshire Light Infantry) Regiment under Captain Hopkins, who was remarkable for daring in that very fine fighting battalion. Captain (later Sir William) J. C. Guise, the 90th Light Infantry, equalled in courage his predecessor in command, Major R. Barnston. He had lost his right arm seven years earlier in an accident; but he did not hesitate to engage a rebel, who, with others, attacked Captain Wolseley's company on October 4, when as rearguard of the composite battalion it was approaching the Alambagh. The rebel, who wielded with his right hand a sharp cutting sword, nearly deprived Guise of his remaining arm. His brother officers nominated him for the Victoria Cross for conspicuous gallantry during the relief of Lucknow.

Captain Wolseley had already in his five years of service shown great ability, and that calculating but unsurpassable determination which thirty-eight years later made him Commander-in-Chief. He had been very severely wounded when leading an assault in Burma during his first year's service, and in the general's despatch was mentioned as one "Who not only distinguished himself by his gallantry in leading the storming party, but also by his judgment in selecting the weakest place in the breastwork." In the Crimea, Wolseley, an assistant engineer, literally "carried his life in his hand" for seven months, and until he was terribly wounded. General Sir Harry Jones, the Chief engineer, who had fought in the Peninsular, strongly urged Wolseley's promotion to the rank of major, for which Viscount Hardinge, the Commander-in-Chief, would have recommended him but for his short service, then only three and a half years. These were the leaders of the assaulting parties in the final act of the

second relief of Lucknow. The awful object-lesson in the Sikandarbagh, however, had weakened the resisting power of the rebels, of whom a small number only of determined men remained to defend to the last the Moti Mahall.

When Wolseley's men scrambled over the Mess house garden wall they found a drawbridge, which, severely battered in several places, was still passable, and the leader ran through the building to the far side without meeting any Sipahis, though there were many in the gardens. Wolseley sent Captain Irby to seize the Tara Kothi (Observatory), to the south-west of the Mess house, which he soon cleared of rebels, while Wolseley, crossing the garden wall, went up the Residency road, making for the main gate of the Moti Mahall. To avoid heavy fire from the Kaisarbagh Palace and adjoining buildings, Wolseley led his company under an arcade close to the main entrance, where some shelter from fire was obtained.

Nov. 17
1857

In front of the main entrance stood a high circular wall covering a carriage drive, but both ingress and egress openings had been bricked up, and loopholed, thus giving a flanking fire along the front of the main walls, which were strongly built and 20 feet high. A struggle for loopholes which ensued ended in Wolseley's men holding them. He sent for crowbars and pick-axes, which were soon brought up. Private Andrewes, seeing the men carrying the tools going astray, went out in the open to guide them, and was immediately shot. Wolseley ran out, and was dragging him under cover when another bullet went through Andrewes, from the effects of which he died some years later. While a hole was being made, Mr. Kavanagh, coming up, guided Captain Wolseley to other openings, but

all had been bricked up, so he returned just in time to see the boots of Ensign Haig disappearing through a hole which had been made in the wall. It was soon enlarged, and Wolseley took his company into the main courtyard. When passing close under the eastern walls of the palace a Sipahi from an open window made a slice at Wolseley's head, which he only just managed to avoid.

Further struggles ensued, the Sipahis firing from windows, through the thin walls of outhouses, and from loopholes in the main buildings. These latter Wolseley had covered up with earth-laden baskets, found in out-houses into which his men had penetrated ; they were engaged in slaying some rebels, when at the western side of the courtyard there was a loud explosion. As the smoke and dust cleared off, Captain Tinling, 90th Light Infantry, ran through at the head of his company and greeted Wolseley. The company, with others, had gone into the Residency with Havelock's column six weeks earlier, and the battalion was thus dramatically reunited, by the coincidence of its companies leading the relieving troops, and the sortie by the beleaguered garrison.

Although these forces had now joined hands, there was still an open space of 400 yards between the Chatar Manzil and the three buildings inside the Moti Mahall enclosure, swept by the enemy's fire from a battery near the Badshahbagh, on the north side of the Gumti, and from buildings near the Kaisarbagh, south of the Residency road.

THE MEETING OF THE GENERALS

Generals Outram and Havelock crossed this open space unscathed, but of their Staff, Colonel Napier,

Lieutenants Havelock, Russell, and Sitwell all fell wounded. As the generals passed through the Moti Mahall buildings the concussion of a shell, bursting against a wall close to them, knocked General Havelock down. Incessant work, scanty, unpalatable food, and anxiety had told on his constitution, and though he brightened up on being greeted by his old friends Hope Grant and Norman, who told him he had been made a Knight Commander of the Bath, yet he was already a dying man, and from emotion burst into tears when the soldiers cheered him. After an interview with Sir Colin Campbell, which took place between the Mess house and the Moti Mahall, General Outram, on whose determined face and sturdy frame the six weeks in the Residency had left no perceptible traces, accompanied by his Staff, ran across the shot-swept open space back to the Residency. Havelock followed; but, after going a short distance, turning to Captain Dodgson, one of the Residency Staff, he said, "I can do no more," and then, resting on Dodgson's shoulder, he walked slowly, untouched under a shower of missiles, back to the people, to succour whom he had given his life.

While Captain Wolseley was storming the Mess house and Moti Mahall on the right, Colonel Hale's men had been fighting hard, near the hospital, on the left flank of Sir Colin's operations. Hale was nearly killed, for a bullet pierced his helmet, another grazed his heels, and a round-shot killed his horse under him. The troops had to evacuate the burning hospital, from which they had previously driven the enemy, who then attacked all the pickets between the Sikandarbagh and the barracks. Then Sir Colin Campbell, personally leading his only reserve, consisting of 2 companies, and Remington's Horse Battery, the

battery unlimbering in jungle in line with Sir Colin's leading skirmishers, repulsed the attacks. Captain Remington on this as on many other occasions greatly distinguished himself.

The Chief, probably impressed by the obstinate defence of the Sipahis in the Sikandarbagh and Shah Najaf, had not anticipated that the assault of the Mess house would have been crowned with such rapid success, and that he would be able to advance on the Moti Mahall. The same day General Adrian Hope, when congratulating Wolseley on the brilliant work he had done with his company, said, "Keep out of Sir Colin's way or you'll catch it; his orders to you were to take the Mess house only."

It happened, however, that Sir Colin slept that night near Wolseley's company. Wolseley had given his coat to his dying friend Barnston, who had complained of being cold, and awakening early, as he stood up, jostled against Sir Colin, who was rising simultaneously. The Chief's irritation had passed away and complimenting the young captain, in most flattering terms, on his capture of the Mess house and Moti Mahall, he promised he would ensure his promotion.

At noon on the 19th the women, children, and non-combatants were safely withdrawn in carriages, along a screened roadway, which had been thrown up on the river bank under cover. There was a heavy fire of shells from the Badshahbagh battery, which, however, hit only two Natives, who were pushing a vehicle, which the unfortunate horses were too weak to pull. The women and children were kept in the Sikandarbagh till 11 p.m., when they were carried in dolis to the Dilkusha park, where they remained till November 24.

From the 20th to the 22nd Captain Peel's heavy guns, in battery at Martin's house, near the Moti Mahall, shelled the Kaisarbagh, while the treasure, serviceable guns, and 160,000 lb. of corn were carried to Dilkusha, unknown to the 30,000 Sipahis in the city, who were momentarily expecting an assault on the Kaisarbagh buildings, in which there were three breaches.

At midnight on November 22-23 the garrison withdrew, through the Baillie Guard buildings, General Outram allowing Colonel Inglis' claim to pass out behind him and close the gate. The soldiers had been "mustered," but one officer, sleeping soundly, did not awake till all had disappeared beyond the row of palaces. Appalled by the solitude and silence, he ran eastward, and eventually unscathed overtook the rear-guard; but the nervous shock experienced affected him for some time.

The Staff arrangements for the evacuation were perfect, and at daylight on November 23 Sir Colin Campbell was at the Martinière with the rearguard before the rebels knew the Residency, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant, had been evacuated. Sir Colin Campbell, while eulogising the troops for their conduct during the six days spent on outlying picket under fire, praised Outram for the arrangements. Months later Outram, when thanking the City of London for being made a freeman of it, wrote characteristically: "The praise he had received was Sir Colin's due, who had not only planned, but had personally supervised, the operations." Nov. 23
1857

From the 23rd to the 26th Sir Colin Campbell reorganised the forces, 4000 being left under Outram, to hold a position near the Alambagh, and Sir Colin, starting on the 27th with 3000 Effectives escorted the

women, children, and wounded, in a convoy, which stretched over 10 miles of road.

General Havelock had been carried on the 20th to the Dilkusha camp. He realised he was dying, and said to his friend Outram, on the evening of the 23rd: "I have for forty years so ruled my life that when death came I might face it without fear." Next day he died, as he had lived, without fear. All in the United Kingdom mourned for him; New York hung its flags half-mast high. It was aptly written of this Puritan-like hero—

"Alike in Peace and War, one path he trod,
His law was duty and his guide was God."

CHAPTER XIV

THE GWALIAR CONTINGENT AT CAWNPUR

THE instructions given by Sir Colin Campbell to Sir Charles Windham, whom he left to hold the bridge of boats over the Ganges at Cawnpur, were at first carried out to Sir Colin's complete satisfaction, as was cordially acknowledged by the Chief of the Staff on November 13.

When General Windham heard of the advance of the Gwalior Contingent towards Cawnpur, he represented the insufficiency of his force to hold the position, and on the 15th received orders to retain all detachments arriving from Allahabad. He then encamped near the junction of the Dehli-Kalpi roads, to the south-west of the city, 3 miles from the intrenchment which covered the bridge-head. Tantia Topi's forces gradually approached from Kalpi, 45 miles distant in a westerly direction. That town stands on the Jamnah, which thence runs nearly parallel to the Ganges, and the rebels occupied all the country between the rivers to the west, and north of Cawnpur.

General Windham asked the Headquarters Staff on Nov. 1857 November 17 for permission to move two-thirds of his force, which on November 25 amounted to 1700 men, composed of small detachments of different battalions arriving from day to day, up the canal by night in

boats, to attack one of the rebel forces encamped 15 miles from the city. He received no reply to this application nor to three letters sent later.

General Windham heard that Colin Campbell's troops had reached the Residency, and that the women and children were coming back to Cawnpur. Then communication was cut; but on the 22nd information was received that an armed police force, holding the Sai bridge at Banni, a communication post 16 miles from Lucknow and 30 miles from Cawnpur, had been surprised, and defeated. Sir Charles reoccupied the post with a Madras battalion and 2 guns.

Nov. 1857

On the 24th, the general, leaving 4 companies and 2 guns in the intrenchment on the southern bank of the Ganges, shifted his camp 3 miles westward, to the bridge over the canal on the Kalpi road, and Tantia Topi advanced his leading division to the Pandu River, 4 miles west of the bridge, at the same time. On the 26th General Windham moved forward with 1200 men and 8 guns through a well-wooded country to the Pandu River, where he met the enemy, and driving the Sipahis back captured 3 guns. The country was now more open with muddy fields under rice cultivation. As the 34th (1st Border) Regiment, on the left of the line passed through a small wood, some squadrons of the Gwalior Contingent charged boldly, but were repulsed with loss by the 34th, formed in square, and the line advanced to a village, half a mile farther westward. From a hill on the far side of the village the general saw that he had dealt with only a portion of the enemy's force, and therefore retired across the canal, up to which the enemy followed. Sir Charles encamped the troops across the Kalpi road, having some brick-kilns between his camp and the city. There were several groves of

trees near the tents, affording cover to an enemy, but it was the best site available.

On the 27th, at 10 a.m., he was heavily attacked on both flanks by 14,000 Sipahis and Irregulars computed at 11,000, with 46 guns, to which the British could only oppose 1700 all ranks and 10 guns. Windham's men held the Bithur road on the right and the junction of the Dehli-Kalpi road on the left, holding with a detachment a small intervening wood, thus connecting the two flanks. Nov. 27

Brigadier Carthew on the right repulsed the enemy's attack and could have held his ground if General Windham had not withdrawn a battalion from the Bithur road. The general, on visiting the left front, perceived the men were about to give way and sent for the 34th (1st Border) Regiment to restore the fight. The troops commanded by General Dupuis had been heavily cannonaded, and now, moreover, gun ammunition was running short; so Sir Charles sent orders to both Dupuis, and Carthew to retire on the brick-kilns. Carthew, seeing the risks involved in giving up his position, which covered the clothing and other Store houses, demurred till the order was repeated.

The 34th (1st Border) Regiment having, by strenuous fighting, repulsed all attacks near the Bithur road, arrived on the left of the position as the troops were falling back in disorder. The battalion, with the reputation of a century for discipline in peace and war, advanced gallantly against the oncoming Sipahis, and held them back until two 24-pounder guns, which had been abandoned and must otherwise have been captured, were withdrawn.

General Windham, having directed Dupuis to hold on if possible at the brick-kilns, was galloping to the intrenchment, when he learnt that the enemy having

penetrated the weakened position on the Bithur road, were already in the lower part of the city, and were about to move on the bridge-head. He then sent orders to Dupuis to retire to the intrenchment. Fortunately a detachment (2nd Rifle Brigade), having made a forced march from Fathpur, arrived at this moment, and, led by Sir Charles, drove the enemy out of the city. The general now rode over to Brigadier Carthew and sent him with 2 companies 88th (2nd Connaught) Regiment and four 6-pounder guns, back to the Bithur road. Carthew came on the flank of rebels moving against the intrenchment, and, after a short but decisive bayonet struggle, pushed them back, and occupied the theatre and the adjoining assembly rooms, 500 yards north-west of the bridge-head. Carthew secured the buildings, which were filled with soldiers' uniforms, and bivouacked with the main body at a bridge over a ravine 250 yards farther north.

Nov. 27
1857

While the Brigadier was regaining ground on the British right the troops on the left had lost formation in their retirement, mainly owing to the misconduct of one commanding officer, of whom Sir Colin Campbell reported: "His conduct was pusillanimous and imbecile in the last degree." All the equipment and stores in the brick-kiln camp were abandoned, as the Native waggoners had driven off their oxen, and darkness alone saved the wounded, as doli bearers, camels, and elephants hurried through the crowded mango groves, and the narrow twisting streets of the bazaar, in tumultuous flight towards the intrenchment. The conduct of some of the fugitives induced the significant remark of an old Sikh officer, "Surely these are not the brothers of the men who beat our Khalsa!" It must, however, be borne in mind that in the force were

many small detachments of different corps serving under strange officers.

General Windham ordered the following arrangements to be carried out at daylight on the 28th:— Colonel Walpole, with 2 companies 82nd (2nd South Lancashire) Regiment, 5 companies of his own battalion, Rifle Brigade, and 4 guns, was to hold the south-western side of the city, having as a support the 88th (2nd Connaught) Regiment, posted on the Allahabad road. Brigadier Wilson was to hold the intrenchment with the 4 weak companies 64th (1st North Staffordshire) Regiment, having a detachment at the Baptist Chapel, 100 yards west of Carthew's bivouac. His instructions were, however, changed after he was engaged, but when the enemy's attack began he held the bridge over the ravine with the 34th (1st Border) Regiment, it having 2 companies advanced to the ruins of the Native lines, 200 yards farther north. Windham's troops faced south-west, west, and north, on a very extended frontage.

When the Sipahis opened fire on November 28 the Rifle Brigade repulsed the attack on the British left, capturing two 18-pounder guns. At noon, Captain M'Crea, Assistant - Quartermaster - General, brought orders from General Windham, who was on the left of the British position, for Brigadiers Carthew and Wilson to advance on the two parallel roads which run northwards from the city through the Civil station towards Bithur. Carthew advanced beyond the Native lines on the enemy's guns, but could not get nearer to them than 100 yards. Then he brought up two 6-pounders, served by Madras artillery, who obliged the enemy's batteries to withdraw. Meanwhile Wilson, to whom Captain M'Crea had gone after seeing Carthew, advanced with the 4 companies 64th (1st North

Nov. 28

Staffordshire) Regiment, numbering only 171 men, and accompanied by half a company 82nd Regiment. The enemy contested every step of the advanced line, which consisted of 2 companies in extended order. They passed up a hollow commanded from both flanks and from the front, by four of the enemy's 9-pounder guns on the northern ridge. Major Stirling, the commanding officer, led the skirmishers directly on the battery, and, after killing several of the enemy, fell in a hand-to-hand encounter. His successor, Captain Saunders, 70th Regiment attached to the 64th, shouting to the supporting companies to come on, immediately ran out to the front, and with Lieutenants Parsons, 2nd Bengal Fusiliers attached to the 64th, and O'Grady reached the battery, accompanied by Sergeant Bethel, Privates Kerrison, O'Neill, and Bandboy Bernard Fitzpatrick, who was hacked to pieces while disabling a gun. All fought gallantly against overwhelming numbers, but before the supporting companies came up the rebels, realising how few Britons had captured the battery, returned in full force. Captains M'Crea and Morphy, Lieutenants M'Kenna, and Gibbings, 52nd Light Infantry attached to the 64th, were killed, Brigadier Wilson was mortally wounded, and eventually the weak companies 64th (1st North Staffordshire), pressed by cavalry and an overwhelming force of infantry, retired to the intrenchments, thus uncovering Brigadier Carthew's right flank.

The troops at the bridge over the ravine had been heavily attacked. Twice the 34th (1st Border) Regiment drove away the rebels from the streets; twice they cleared the church enclosure. Then a company, 64th (1st North Staffordshire) Regiment, assisted by some of the 34th under Bertie Shiffner, retook by a bayonet charge the church on Carthew's left, which the Sipahis

had occupied, but they could not hold it; and at 6 o'clock the bridge was assailed by thousands of Sipahis. Carthew held on till the enemy got a gun into the churchyard, which enfiladed the bridge at 150 yards distance, and, as the two guns manned by Madras artillery could not be laid on it, he then retired 100 yards, though he still denied to the rebels the use of the bridge.

They worked round to his left, and shot down so many of the men that he asked for help, and 2 companies of the Rifle Brigade, who arrived as night closed in, covered an orderly retreat into the intrenchment. This movement had been prescribed the previous evening by General Windham as a step to be taken if further resistance outside became impossible.

The casualties in the three days' fighting were 115 of all ranks, the 34th (1st Border) Regiment alone having 10 officers and 44 of other ranks killed or wounded. The troops were disheartened, and the bridge of boats across the Ganges would have been probably broken up had not Sir Colin Campbell's force been close at hand. He preceded it, and rode into the intrenchment shortly before Carthew's troops fell back. They had fought continuously for 36 hours, with but little food, and less sleep, their leader showing the grandest courage under close fire and in critical moments. He had the most vulnerable and valuable section to defend, in which not only military stores, but equipment for the Lucknow garrison had been collected, and the fewest men to hold it, while one battalion, retained by General Windham on the left, was scarcely engaged.

Lieutenant (V.C., Field-Marshal Earl) Roberts was sent on in advance by Sir Colin Campbell, and rode into the intrenchment soon after General Windham had fallen back; and Roberts, writing of this in 1898, records the

Nov. 28

fact that, although the troops were demoralised, the general was thoroughly calm, collected, and not dispirited.

Sir Colin Campbell, in his first despatch to the Governor-General on the Cawnpur operations, implied that he was not satisfied with General Windham's conduct. Later he asked the general personally: "Why did you not let me know that you were in danger?" Sir Charles then satisfied him that he had written on three successive days: (*a*) the rumour of the advance of the Gwalior Contingent; (*b*) that it was advancing; (*c*) that the military situation at Cawnpur was serious. Windham also proved that his private letters, sent by the messengers who carried the three reports, had all been received in Sir Colin's camp at Lucknow, and the Commander-in-Chief then in a second despatch reported that "General Windham's task was one of great difficulty," and recommended him, and the officers mentioned in his report, to Lord Canning's favourable consideration.

Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley, writing in 1903, states that, in his opinion, Sir Colin Campbell might have finished the work at Lucknow several days sooner, thus avoiding the great risk of the destruction of Windham's force, and of the bridge of boats which was the line of communication with Calcutta.

SUMMARY OF THE OPERATIONS

To enable soldiers to appreciate the situation a recapitulation of events at Lucknow is given:—

November 16.—The generals met in the evening near the Moti Mahall.

19th.—The non-combatants, leaving the Residency at noon, rested at the Sikandarbagh, and reached the Dilkusha park at 2 a.m. on the 20th.

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22nd–23rd.—Residency evacuated by rearguard.

23rd.—At daylight the force was clear of Lucknow, after being for six days on outlying pickets, very often heavily engaged.

24th.—Hope Grant and Sir Colin moved $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the Alambagh.

25th.—General Outram closed up from Dilkusha.

26th.—The whole force halted.

27th.—Sir Colin Campbell's force started for Cawnpur at 11 a.m.

DEFEAT OF THE GWALIAR CONTINGENT AND OTHER REBELS, COMMANDED BY TANTIA TOPI, AT CAWNPUR

On November 27 Sir Colin Campbell left General Outram in position at the Alambagh, and marched for Cawnpur. Nov. 27
1857

The road was narrow, in many places on a raised causeway; and, the country on either side being swampy, all wheel carriage was necessarily confined to it. The wounded, women, treasure, artillery, engineer park, and numerous camp followers made a troublesome procession; frequent gaps occurred, inducing delay, which rendered progress slow. The advanced guard, marching at 11 a.m., reached the Sai River, 13 miles distant, before the rearguard moved, and it was past midnight on November 27–28 when it reached the camp, pitched 2 miles south of Banni. Throughout the march the booming of cannon on the Ganges was audible, and the report of the officer commanding the Banni post, that he had heard firing on the 26th, also made the Commander-in-Chief anxious for the safety of the Cawnpur garrison, and the bridge of boats over which he hoped to pass. At 9 a.m. on the 28th the

troops marched for Cawnpur, 30 miles distant, being exhorted to make a great effort. Sir Colin Campbell with cavalry and artillery preceded the infantry and the convoy; receiving three reports of successively increasing gravity, he left the mounted troops at Mangalwar, 5 miles from the river, and rode into Windham's intrenchment at sunset.

After ascertaining the situation Sir Colin returned to Mangalwar, where the infantry and convoy arrived during the night. At daylight Captain Peel's guns, and the heavy batteries, which had just come up, opened on the rebel guns, which were firing on the bridge of boats. Though the bridge was struck, there were no casualties on it, and by nightfall on the 29th Sir Colin's Effectives were bivouacked south of the city, between the intrenchment, and the Allahabad-Dehli road. The convoy was 30 hours in crossing the bridge, but at midnight on November 30–December 1 it was located on the site of General Wheeler's intrenchment, and after nightfall on December 3 all the women and half the wounded left for Allahabad under escort.

Sir Colin Campbell had delayed to attack the rebels lest any defeated troops might follow and destroy the Lucknow refugees. When he heard the convoy was out of reach near the entraining station, Allahabad, he arranged to crush the enemy, who, misunderstanding the cause of Sir Colin's delay, had become daily more aggressive.

The rebels' position was naturally strong on their left, where the adherents of Nana Sahib guarded the roads to Bithur. The centre was in the city, wherein narrow, winding streets rendered stubborn defence possible; but the right, held by the Gwalior Contingent, the mutinous soldiery from Central India, and

the Rani of Jhansi's troops, stretched away in the open plain to the west of the Allahabad-Dehli road. Tantia Topi was in command of the whole force, which, from the position taken up, was liable to be beaten on the right flank before supports could move over from the left or river flank. Sir Colin Campbell had 600 cavalry, 5000 infantry, and 38 guns. The rebels numbered 25,000 men with 40 guns.

THE FIGHTING OUTSIDE CAWNPUR

At 9 a.m. on the 6th General Windham opened fire from every gun under his command in, and about the intrenchment. At 11 o'clock General Greathed advanced from the old Bazaar, named Generalganj, against the south side of the city, the cavalry and horse artillery moving out to the westward to operate on the Kalpi road. Adrian Hope's and Inglis's brigades, in skirmishing order, in the first instance, attacked and seized some high mounds on the brick-kilns. The skirmishers then tried to carry the bridge over the canal; but they failed to do so in the face of masses of the enemy until Captain Peel, accompanied by Private Hannaford, 53rd (1st Shropshire L.I.) Regiment, led the Bluejackets hauling a 24-pounder across the bridge, and brought it smartly into action. The two infantry brigades then ran forward, some across the bridge, others through the canal, and then, re-forming, drove the enemy from their front. Captain Bouchier's battery of horse artillery galloped up the Dehli road, and, unlimbering at 400 yards range, fired into the retreating crowds of rebels, and then, closing to 200 yards, fired grape into them.

The 53rd (1st Shropshire) Regiment, passing through the guns, now pushed the rebels from the

Gwalior Contingent camp, where, defeat not being anticipated, hospital attendants, cooks, and other non-combatants were engaged in their respective occupations.

At 2 p.m. Sir Colin Campbell, leaving a battalion to guard the camp, sent General (later Earl) Mansfield round by the south of the city to move up on the Bithur road, and ordered Inglis's brigade to advance on the Kalpi road, where the cavalry, misled by a guide, had not yet appeared. Sir Colin, becoming impatient, now took Bouchier's battery, escorted only by himself, Sir Hope Grant, and their Staffs, to press the pursuit, which it did for 2 miles, coming into action four times to disperse the retreating rebels. Then a halt was made, and a few minutes later the cavalry appeared, and pursued in extended order up to the 14th milestone on the Pandu River, returning at night to Windham's camping ground of November 2-4. General Mansfield did not get farther than the Civil station, Nawabganj, where, having engaged the rebels, he halted at nightfall. The Nana's followers after dark retreated from their position there, and from the city, carrying off their guns. The cautious and limited advance of Mansfield's force occasioned surprise, and induced criticism by the troops, who did not know Sir Colin Campbell had given the general strict orders that he was not to risk the life of a single soldier in pressing the enemy's retreat.

Next morning the enemy had disappeared, and on December 8 General Hope Grant with 2000 men followed in pursuit. After a night march he surprised the rebels as they were crossing the Ganges 21 miles above Cawnpur, and captured 15 guns, Hope Grant being the only person hit on the British side, and his wound was slight.

Sir Colin Campbell, between December 6 and 9, Dec. 1857 defeated 25,000 men, capturing 34 of their 40 guns, with only 99 casualties in his force. The Chief had lent General Outram sufficient transport to render his force mobile; he had sent most of the remaining vehicles with the wounded and Residency refugees to Allahabad, and they did not rejoin till December 23. This prevented any movement of the main body, but on the 28th Colonel Walpole was sent to march through the Lower Duab (Two Rivers) district. He encountered very little opposition, but in the ruins of Itawah, wrecked by mutineers on May 23, a few determined Sipahis occupied a square loopholed building. It would have cost many lives to carry it by assault, so the would-be martyrs met their death under the walls of the building, which was blown up by a mine. Walpole joined the Dehli column under Brigadier-General Seaton on January 3 at Bewar, Jan. 1857 15 miles east of Mainpuri.

Seaton had left Dehli for Cawnpur on December 9 with a column of 1900 Effectives, escorting a provision convoy. The escort consisted of a squadron 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabiniers), with a few 9th Lancers attached, 1st Bengal (Royal Munster) Fusiliers, Hodson's Horse, 7th Panjabis, and 13 cannon of various calibres. Seaton, learning that rebels were threatening Colonel Farquhar's small force in the Aligarh district, made forced marches to the fort at Aligarh, where he left the convoy and all his camp equipment, and went on to join Farquhar at Gangari, on the Kali River. While the troops were cooking on December 14 Dec. 1857 Lieutenant Light (now General Lyte), who had been out reconnoitring with Major Hodson, galloped in to report that the enemy, previously believed to be 13 miles off, were close at hand and advancing

on both flanks. During the artillery duel which ensued, Captain Wardlaw, of the Carabiniers, on the right flank, noticing the rebels' guns were enfilading our line, charged them. The guns were smartly turned on to the squadron, but, the officers leading with great determination, the men rode into the battery and captured it. Three officers were killed, and 2 wounded—I dangerously wounded; of other ranks 6 were killed, and 11 wounded. Major Hodson, on the left, overthrew the rebel cavalry at the same moment, and the infantry threw away their weapons, and dispersed. Seaton routed another force on December 17 at Patiali, taking 13 guns, and the mounted troops, in a pursuit of 7 miles, killed 600 rebels, losing only 1 man killed and 3 wounded. A halt of three days was then made to enable the Civil servants to reorganise the district. Afterwards Seaton, moving forward, took 8 guns in the fort at Karauli, the enemy dispersing after two rounds had been fired. The Brigadier, marching to Bewar on December 31, came under General Walpole's orders on January 3, when his column arrived from Cawnpur.

CHAPTER XV

THE DUAB—GURKHAS AT GORAKHPUR

THE vehicles which had conveyed the wounded soldiers and Residency refugees to Allahabad returned to Cawnpur on December 23, and Sir Colin Campbell, with the main force, then moved by short marches towards Fathgarh, where the troops under the command of Brigadier-Generals Seaton and Walpole were to concentrate with it.

Columns under the command of Major-General Windham and Brigadier-General Hope Grant, detached on punitive expeditions, had rejoined when Sir Colin's brigade, under Brigadier-General Adrian Hope, reached an affluent of the Ganges, the Kali Nadi, where it was crossed by a suspension bridge opposite to the village of Khudaganj. The planks of the roadway had been removed, and the structure damaged, but the piers and main chains were intact. Jan. 1858

The rebels had retreated to Fathgarh, and the sappers and sailors, under protection of pickets on the far bank, had by twenty hours of continuous labour, directed by Major (later General Sir) Lothian Nicholson, Royal Engineers, nearly made the bridge passable, when early on January 22 Sir Colin Campbell rode up to inspect the work.

The ground rises from the river, and half a mile from it stood on either side of the Fathgarh road the

village of Khudaganj. Being built on an eminence 600 yards from and parallel to the river, it afforded a good defensive position covering Fathgarh, the European station of Farrukabad.

Jan. 22
1858

The Nawab of the district had collected a considerable number of men, the remnants of forces dispersed by Generals Seaton and Walpole, and with them re-occupied Khudaganj, shortly before Sir Colin Campbell reached the suspension bridge. Campbell saw some Natives on the rising ground, and told an officer to assure them of being kindly treated; but, before he reached the village, the rebels opened fire from 2 guns, one shot alone knocking down 6 men of the 53rd (Shropshire Light Infantry) Regiment. General Adrian Hope sent that corps across the bridge to support its pickets, keeping half of the 93rd (Argyll and Sutherland) Highlanders in reserve. The other half of the battalion was employed in watching a ford 3 miles down stream.

Captain Peel took 3 Naval brigade 24-pounder guns across the bridge, and, putting them in action in the line of skirmishers, soon silenced the two rebel guns; but two more replaced them, and a shot from one piece of heavy calibre killed or wounded 11 men of the 8th (Liverpool) Regiment. The musketry fire was at a range too great to inflict loss on the British side, though both Sir Colin Campbell and Sir Hope Grant were hit by spent bullets. The passage of the river was tedious, for the horses had to be led across the bridge, as the roadway was incomplete; but at 4 p.m. all the troops were on the far bank except the Highlanders.

Both the English and the Irish Regiments thought that Sir Colin Campbell was inclined to favour his countrymen by selecting Highlanders to give the

finishing blow in the capture of positions, and on this occasion the 93rd had been detailed to pass through and relieve the 53rd Regiment. This arrangement irritated the battalion, which had been in touch with the enemy all day, and when the leading company of Highlanders stepped on to the bridge, a 53rd man, jumping up, shouted: "Fifty-third, you will never let those barelegged fellows pass you," and, a small bugler sounding the "Advance—double," the whole battalion rose up as one man, charged the enemy holding the toll-house on a rise between the river and Khudaganj, and drove them back.

Sir Colin Campbell was very angry; the bugler excused himself:—"Please, sir, if I had not sounded the men would have licked me," and when Sir Colin attempted to rebuke the battalion his remarks were drowned by vociferous "Cheers for the Commander-in-Chief!" His intentions having been frustrated, he Jan. 1858 ordered the 93rd to support the 53rd, and the advance continued, Greathed's Brigade moving by on the left of the 53rd, and the cavalry under Hope Grant going farther out on the left flank.

The rebels retreated from Khudaganj towards Fathgarh in good order, covered by an artillery rear-guard, before the British infantry reached the village; but Brigadier-General Hope Grant was then trotting with his brigade across country parallel to the road, from which his movements, owing to intervening high crops and trees, could not be seen. Driving some rebel horsemen before his squadrons, which were advancing in echelon, he gradually neared the road, until he got within 500 yards, when, wheeling into line to the right, he charged the column of infantry and guns moving on it. The rebels, though surprised, fought bravely for a few minutes; but in their straggling formation

protracted defence was impossible, and presently they fled in despair, many throwing away their weapons.

Hope Grant, forming his men in line, rode in front of the 9th Lancers, his old regiment, and for 5 miles the flying foe was pursued, numbers falling by spear and sabre. Groups of brave Sipahis, well trained under their former British officers, knelt together, and attempted to withstand the cavalry attacks; but such determined courage merely postponed their deaths, for the British troopers and Sikhs, passing overturned cannon, ammunition waggons, gaudily adorned carts, and palanquins, followed up and slew all who stood at bay.

One of these brave men wounded mortally Lieutenant Younghusband, who was riding alongside Lieutenant Sleigh (Field-Marshal Earl, V.C.) Roberts. Hope Grant's Staff officer saw him fall, but was at the moment attacking a Sipahi, who was about to bayonet one of Younghusband's Sikhs. Roberts killed the rebel, and then galloped after two Sipahis, who were carrying off a Colour. He overtook them, and, cutting down the standard-bearer, was wrenching the flag-pole out of his hand when the other Sipahi pulled the trigger of his musket, with its muzzle almost touching Roberts's body. The cap missed fire, and Roberts carried off the flag.

When the failing light warned Hope Grant that he must draw rein, he re-formed his squadrons; and, after the wounded had received attention, the brigade returned, nearly every British and Sikh trooper carrying some trophy of victory, as, cheered by the gunners and infantry, they filed into camp past Sir Colin Campbell, who took off his helmet to each corps in succession as he thanked the men. The British had only 42 casualties, but the rebels suffered severely,

losing 8 guns and several standards. Lieutenant Roberts received the Victoria Cross for his gallant conduct.

Fathgarh and Farrukabad were occupied by 10,000 men, Seaton's and Walpole's men having joined, and the rebels retreated in disorder into Rohilkhand. Sir Colin Campbell had now cleared the Duab (literally, Two Rivers)—*i.e.* the country between the Jamnah and Ganges Rivers—and had reopened direct communication between Agra, Allahabad, and Dehli.

STRATEGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Commander-in-Chief proposed to complete the suppression of the rebels who had gathered in Rohilkhand, and to postpone the capture and reoccupation of Lucknow till the cold weather of 1858-59. He apprehended that operations against the capital of Oudh might keep the European troops in the field throughout the hot weather, and doubted whether the Home Government could replace the wastage to be anticipated from climate alone, which he estimated at one-third of the Effectives. He thought, moreover, that after the capture of the city, its garrison and necessary posts on the line of communication would absorb 10,000 men; and assuming his views were not accepted, and further, that if the rebels were not completely crushed, he foresaw the possibility of having to rescue in the summer months the garrisons of Fathgarh, and Mainpuri.

The Governor-General dissented. He argued that not only were the thoughts of mutinous Sipahis turned on Lucknow, but that all Native chiefs throughout India were awaiting news from Oudh, many sympathising with the King whom the East India Company had deposed. Nana Sahib was not only intriguing

with the Maratha chiefs of Western India, but was meditating an attack on Sagar. There was always real danger of a Muhammadan rising in the Dakhan; and Jang Bahadur, the able Minister and virtual ruler of Nepal, who since July had kept 3000 Gurkhas in Eastern Bihar to help us, could not be expected to prolong for another hot season the sojourn of his hillmen in what was for them an unhealthy climate.

The Commander-in-Chief again submitted what appeared to him to be weighty reasons in favour of his plans; but on receipt of the Governor-General's decision he took immediate action to give effect to it. As a first step, orders were given to bring a Siege train for use against the works, which had been thrown up around Lucknow, from Agra to Cawnpur, a distance of 180 miles, its safety during the long march being secured by the occupation of Fathgarh. Colonel Seaton was detailed to remain there with a weak mixed infantry brigade, 1 battery, and some newly raised Irregular horsemen, when Sir Colin Campbell's main army should move forward. The Chief arranged with Sir John Lawrence that a column should move early in February from Rurki, 70 miles north of Meerut, and enter Rohilkhand, to engage the attention of the rebels, and thus prevent their operating against Colonel Seaton's force.

GORAKHPUR

Columns started in the east of Oudh to move on Lucknow simultaneously with Sir Colin's advance from Cawnpur. Jang Bahadur, the Prime Minister of Nepal, had visited London in 1850 and was better able to calculate the outcome of revolt against the paramount Power than were most of the rulers of Native States.

Early in May he put all the military resources in Nepal at the disposal of the Governor-General. Lord Canning, after much consideration, accepted in June the services of a contingent of 3000 men. It marched down from Khatmandu, the capital, and reached Gorakhpur, 180 miles east of Lucknow, on July 28, under instructions to proceed to Allahabad *via* Azamgarh, then held by rebels. On the arrival of the Gurkhas, the Bengal infantry at Gorakhpur were disarmed and also part of a detachment of the 12th Irregular Cavalry. The Headquarters at Sigauli, 180 miles east of Gorakhpur, had mutinied at midnight on July 25, killing the commanding officer, Major Holmes, and his wife.

Some suspected troopers of the 12th at Gorakhpur gave up their arms when ordered; but suddenly a few rushed up and, having recovered their weapons, mounted and galloped away. They were pursued by 81 troopers, who remained stanch under Captain Warren, 7 mutineers being overtaken, and killed. The loyal troopers under Captain Muhammad Bakhsh, who was later appointed extra aide-de-camp to the Governor-General, took part in the relief of Lucknow. Afterwards, when the Gurkhas marched towards Azamgarh, Gorakhpur was again held for some time by the rebels.

When, on August 15, the Gurkhas reached Jaunpur 4 British officers were attached to them as instructors. The Contingent was detained there; for the district, having been administered by one of the most brilliant of the enthusiasts for the new system of making cultivators of the soil direct tenants of the Government, had like the others similarly reorganised become one of the most disaffected.

From June 5, when the detachment of Lodiana's

Sikhs learning that their headquarters at Benares, 40 miles to the south-east, had been fired on, mutinied and, killing their officer and a magistrate, plundered the Treasury; there had been no troops available for the restoration of authority until September.

On August 18 Colonel Wroughton, who was commanding at Jaunpur, hearing Azamgarh, 40 miles to the north-eastward, was threatened by the rebels, sent Colonel Shamsher Singh with his Nepalese battalion, 1200 strong, to reinforce the station. Shamsher Singh's men, starting at 10 a.m., covered the 40 miles' march by nightfall. When they reached Azamgarh the colonel heard that the rebels were at Manduri, a village 10 miles distant. The troops rested until 1.30 a.m. on the 19th; and then, accompanied by the Judge, Mr. Wynyard, Captain Boileau, attached to the Sher regiment, and Mr. Venables, a fighting planter, they marched to surprise the rebels.

Mr. Wynyard, the Judge, had gained Lord Canning's warm praise for the manner in which for weeks without European troops he had maintained order, and delayed the outbreak of revolt in his district. Mr. Venables owned an estate from which he raised and armed some of his tenantry. He patrolled the district, and with 72 mounted Europeans, and 150 loyal Sipahis coerced the 13th Cavalry into leaving Azamgarh. On May 16 he attacked a body of rebels at Koilsa, some marches from Azamgarh; and though, from the half-hearted conduct of his Sipahis, he was obliged to retire, he did so slowly, and by the 18th was reinforced by 10 British officers destined for work with the Gurkhas, by a detachment of loyal 12th Cavalrymen, and by some loyal Natives, raised by Mr. Catania. Mr. Venables held Azamgarh till July 30, when he was ordered to abandon it. The rebels showed their

appreciation of his power by offering a reward of 500 rupees for his head.

When the Nepalese reached Manduri, soon after daylight on the 19th, the rebels, with 3 brass cannon, were found strongly posted, the centre covered by the village, the flanks by fields of high sugar-cane. Colonel Shamsheer Singh formed his men in 5 columns, and, disregarding the rebels' fire, the Gurkhas charged with such determination that after ten minutes' fight 200 rebels were slain and the rest were running to save their lives. All three cannon were taken, Mr. Venables being first man up, and killing 3 gunners in personal combat. The Nepalese had 28 casualties.

On October 30 the same regiment again attacked Oct. 1857 with similar dash, and routed after a severe struggle four times its number at a village north-west of Jaunpur. A rebel leader had collected in the Sultanpur district between 4000 and 5000 men, with 7 cannon, and the Sher regiment, 1100 strong with 2 guns, attacked them at Chanda. After a stubbornly contested fight, in which the Gurkhas had 70 casualties, they defeated the rebels, killing 300 men, and capturing 4 guns. Much of the fighting was hand-to-hand. Lieutenant Gambhir Singh, who recovered, though wounded by sword cuts in eight places, "single-handed took a gun, cutting down 5 artillerymen, wounding and driving away two others."

The Governor-General now accepted a contingent of 10,000 Nepalese with 24 field guns under the command of the Prime Minister, Jang Bahadur, and his troops occupied Gorakhpur on January 13, 1858. After an encounter with some rebels posted in jungle a few miles distant from the town, the Gurkhas,

chasing them for 2 miles to the Rapti River, shot down from 300 to 400 men, capturing 7 guns. Jang Bahadur, after defeating some small bodies of rebels, joined Sir Colin Campbell during the operations against Lucknow.

FRANKS'S MARCH TO LUCKNOW

At the end of November Colonel Franks, C.B., 10th (Lincoln) Regiment, was nominated Brigadier-General to command 3 British battalions, 3 companies of British artillery, and 3000 Nepalese, with the primary duty of ensuring the safety of Benares, which had been often threatened, while the rebels occupied Azamgarh, 50 miles to the north of that station. Franks was a type of the Colonel martinet of past generations. He was so severe on those under his command that the men forgave him only on account of his unsurpassable courage. On February 10, 1846, General Sir Hugh Gough, with 15,000 men, attacked and defeated 35,000 Sikhs, holding an intrenched position at Sobraon on the Satlaj, with batteries mounting 67 heavy and 200 camel guns. The general, after a cannonade of three hours, finding no impression had been made on the enemy, sent forward his infantry. For nearly two hours hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The 10th (Lincolnshire) Regiment was in a brigade which assailed the right flank of the Sikh position. When Lieutenant-Colonel Franks was about to attack a battery, he addressed the battalion: "I know you intend to shoot me; but, boys, do let me get in first." His horse was killed under him by a shell, but the rider was carried shoulder high by his generous-hearted soldiers from the battery into which he had led them.

The troops placed under this gallant officer's command consisted of the 10th Lincolnshire, 20th (Lancashire) Fusiliers, 97th (2nd Royal West Kent) Regiments, and 3000 Nepalese. When Franks was nominated Brigadier-General, Captain H. Havelock (later General Sir Henry Havelock, V.C.), who had been Franks's adjutant in the 10th (Lincolnshire) Regiment for six years, although still suffering from the severe wounds he had received before Lucknow, joined the column at his own urgent request, as Assistant Adjutant-General. Franks trusted him, generally acted on his advice, and was very unfortunate on the one occasion in which he disregarded it. He then blundered, and in consequence, according to the historian, Malleson, Sir Colin Campbell, who had intended Franks for an important command, changed his mind. Dec. 1857

The Brigadier waited for some mounted men before he advanced against a body of rebels, posted at Saraun, 14 miles from Allahabad, with outposts pushed forward close up to that place. Two squadrons of the 2nd Dragoon Guards (Queen's Bays) arrived after nightfall on January 21, and next morning Franks routed the enemy, destroying their forts. He was obliged to send the mounted troops back to Allahabad, as they were ordered to proceed up country.

Colonel Rowcroft, who had been detailed with a small force to hold the Gorakhpur district, arrived at the chief town on February 13. This enabled Jang Bahadur to move westwards and set free also Brigadier-General Franks, who advanced from Singramau towards Sultanpur on the same day. At Chanda, 13 miles distant, 8000 rebels, of whom 2500 were Bengal infantry, with 8 guns, were driven back by 8 a.m., with a loss of 6 guns, and followed up for 3 miles before another body of rebels 10,000 strong arrived.

It appeared at sunset on the left flank of Franks's column, then about to bivouac. The Brigadier changed front, and attacking vigorously before the rebels were ready, drove them back in disorder, the troops lying down for the night on the ground they had won.

Feb. 1858

On the 20th the British force halted to allow its baggage train to close up; and the 21st was spent in manœuvring for the possession of the strong fort of Budhayan, which Franks by a masterly move occupied just before the troops of his opponent, Nazim Mehndi Husen, arrived. The rebels were joined that evening by Mirza Gaffur Beg, the commandant of the ex-King of Oudh's artillery, who had been sent from the city of Lucknow to assume command of Sultanpur, and to oppose the advance of the column under Franks.

General Gaffur Beg, with 25,000 men, of whom 5000 were mutinous Sipahis, took up a position across the Jaunpur-Sultanpur-Lucknow road, behind a deep and winding ravine, which, beginning in the Sultanpur plain, runs down to the Gumti River, the whole frontage being 3000 yards. The rebels' left rested on the Sultanpur Bazaar, the centre was in the ruins of a police station, and the right stood behind a low range of hills, in the rear of which was the strongly built Serai, or Rest-house, of Badshahganj. The main battery of artillery was on the Sultanpur-Lucknow road; there was a battery in Badshahganj and half a battery in the Sultanpur Bazaar. The ravine, bordered throughout by trees, was shallow on the extreme right of the rebel position, deep and defensible in the centre where the Jaunpur-Lucknow road crossed it, and both deep and rugged on the left.

General Franks marched from Budhayan, 9 miles distant from Sultanpur, at 6 a.m., and at 9 o'clock sixty mounted men of the 10th (Lincolnshire) Regi-

ment and civilians drove the rebels' pickets across the ravine. Franks, marching his force on the main road as if about to follow it, completely deceived Mirza Gaffur Beg; and having reconnoitred out towards the British left, he then moved the bulk of his infantry, screened by the groups of trees, over the ravine where the Allahabad road crosses it. The troops were perpendicular to the enemy's front before Gaffur Beg realised that he was being outflanked, and General Franks, deploying his men, advanced so rapidly to the enemy's right flank and right rear, that they were on the rebels' position before their general could change front.

Lieutenant Macleod Innes, whose endurance of fatigue and gallantry had rendered him conspicuous amongst hard-working and brave soldiers in the most trying times of the defence of the Lucknow Residency, was riding in front of the skirmishers, and had approached a cannon as its detachment abandoned it. Innes noticed that some of the artillerymen had rallied at a piece farther back and were laying it on the advancing troops; galloping up, he shot a rebel gunner as he was about to apply the port-fire. He was a target for numbers of matchlock-men, who were in huts close at hand, as he sat on his horse alone at the gun, and prevented the remainder of the detachment working it until some of the Lincolns' leading skirmishers came to his assistance.

The left of the advancing British lines now crossed the Sultanpur-Lucknow road, and General Franks, cap in hand, riding in front of the Lincolnshire skirmishers, led 10 of them into the enemy's centre battery; the rebel gunners standing up, served their pieces until they were bayoneted.

Organised resistance now ceased, and the ravine leading round behind the left bank of Gaffur Beg's

position being passable for fugitives, most of the footmen escaped; but 21 guns of all calibres, from 32-pounders downwards (9 of them being Siege guns), and all the ammunition and baggage waggons were captured.

Next evening 2 corps of Sikh Horse (23rd Cavalry Frontier Force), 550 strong, recently raised at Ambala in the Panjab, came into Franks's camp after a march of 40 miles in one day. Early on March 1, when the column was about to move forward, Lieutenant Aikman, who had been on picket with 100 troopers, learnt that 500 foot-men and 200 cavalry rebels were encamped on the Gumti River, 3 miles from the high road. Aikman, sending for assistance, proceeded at once to the enemy's camp, and charged into the midst of the foe. A determined struggle ensued, Aikman fighting several rebels at one moment. He received a severe sabre cut across the face; but, fighting on undauntedly, he so inspired his newly raised swordsmen with enthusiasm, that they routed the rebels, who, leaving 100 dead and 2 cannon, fled across the river before the Brigadier and his mounted men arrived.

When Franks reached Amethi, 8 miles from Lucknow, he heard of some rebels occupying a fort at Durara, 2 miles from the road, and detached the Sikh cavalry with two horse artillery guns to capture it. Captain Havelock, the senior Staff officer, urged his general to send two 24-pounder Howitzers, which were at hand, but in vain. The horse artillery guns failed to silence the matchlock-men and their two cannon, and even at 200 yards to breach the walls. Later, the Howitzers and some picked shots from each British battalion being brought up to keep down the enemy's fire, companies of the 20th (Lancashire Fusiliers)

Regiment and 97th (2nd Royal West Kent) Regiment assaulted the fort, capturing the two guns; but some of the enemy still successfully defied the force. They stood in a strong building, the massive door of which resisted the projectiles of the guns fired at the closest range, and an attempt to burn it down failed. Lieutenant Macleod Innes was severely wounded at the door; and, the general deciding to leave the rebels alone, went on to Sir Colin Campbell's camp outside Lucknow.

Franks's column had marched 130 miles in 13 days, and, with a loss of 37 casualties only, had beaten the enemy in four actions, capturing 35 cannon of different calibres. His success cleared the road for the Nepalese under Jang Bahadur. Lieutenants Aikman and Macleod Innes received the Victoria Cross.

CHAPTER XVI

SIR JAMES OUTRAM AT LUCKNOW—MIANGANJ— CAMPBELL'S ADVANCE

AT the end of November 1857, Sir Colin Campbell had marched back to Cawnpur, escorting the non-combatants who had been besieged in the Lucknow Residency, while General Outram with a division was left at the Alambagh. The general encamped his troops, 3400 Europeans and 1000 loyal Natives, on the plain, half a mile from the Alambagh, behind which the British left was placed. The Right was behind the ruins of an old fort called Jalalabad. These advanced posts were made defensible and garrisoned, absorbing 600 men. The escorts for convoys, men required for camp duties, and non-effectives being deducted, there remained 2000 fighting men available to hold the main position and some small detached works, the whole frontage extending over a semicircle of 8 miles. The outposts were within range of the enemy's guns in batteries covering the city, and the rebels, placing outposts to cover the suburbs, gradually covered their position by intrenchments. Until February 1858, when the ground became dry, a considerable part of Outram's front was, however, strengthened by the existence of swamps.

The rebels had 120,000 organised troops, 130 guns of various calibres, and many thousands of armed men, amongst the 650,000 inhabitants of the capital of

Oudh. Early in December the rebels extended the outworks on their right, and then almost daily made demonstrations of attack. On December 21 Sir James Outram learnt that the enemy intended to sever his line of communication with Banni and Cawnpur, and he moved out before daylight on the 22nd, with 200 mounted Volunteers, 6 guns, and 1200 infantry, divided into 3 columns. This unexpected counter attack was so vigorously pressed home that 4000 Sipahis fled from Gaili and the adjoining villages, abandoning 4 guns. Dec. 1857

Information of intended operations was obtained by both contending forces. Mansab Ali, a local partisan leader, early in January 1858, received large reinforcements from Lucknow to assist in the capture of a convoy which the rebels knew was about to move on the Cawnpur - Banni - Lucknow road. General Outram heard of Mansab Ali's plans, and made up the escort of the next column of empty waggons to a strength of 500 men. On January 12, when the Lucknow chiefs thought the convoy was about to leave Cawnpur, they delivered an attack on Outram's position, in order to facilitate Mansab Ali's operations. Jan. 1858

At daylight 30,000 men, coming out of the city, attacked all along the front, and the left rear of the British position, where Captain Olpherts, as usual, handled his battery of Horse artillery with striking audacity and skill. The rebels, moving in heavy masses, suffered severely and were easily repulsed, mainly by artillery fire, the British troops having only 3 casualties.

Captain Down, Madras (1st Dublin) Fusiliers, commanded a picket in the left centre of the position, immediately opposite to a grove of trees in which a large body of the enemy assembled. The experience

of the Fusiliers in fighting Sipahis was great, and the result on this occasion was similar to that of many encounters Neill's battalion had enjoyed from Allahabad, to the Charbagh bridge on the Lucknow canal; for, except when covered by a parapet, the Sipahis seldom awaited a determined bayonet charge of British soldiers, even when delivered by very inferior numbers. Captain Down allowed his foes to get close up before he made any signs of resistance, and then, charging vigorously with fixed bayonets, he drove them back, killing several men. Attacks on the British right near the Jalalabad post were repulsed with equal ease, and by 4 p.m. the rebels had withdrawn.

Jan. 1858

On January 15, under cover of a violent duststorm blowing from the north, Ahmad Ullah, the Maulavi Talukdar of Faisabad, led out from Lucknow a force to attack the approaching British convoy. Outram heard, on the 15th, of the movement during the previous night of a force to the southward, and sent Captain Olpherts with some mounted troops towards Banni. Olpherts awaited the advance of the enemy, and when they came fairly out on the plain he attacked with great dash, unlimbering his battery within 400 yards, and drove the Maulavi's men back, wounding and nearly capturing the leader.

At 9 a.m. on the 16th, when the waggon of the convoy which had arrived during the previous night were being unloaded, the rebels led by a Brahman dressed to represent the Hindu Monkey God, attacking boldly and unexpectedly a picket near the Jalalabad fort, pushed it back. Brasyer's Sikhs, turning out quickly, advanced in support of the picket, and, driving back the attackers, captured their leader. Throughout the day feeble demonstrations were made all along the front, but no serious attack was delivered until night-

fall, when masses of infantry advanced against a detachment of the 75th (1st Gordon Highlanders) Regiment, posted in a small village on the extreme left. Captain Gordon, who was in command, held his fire till the assailants were within 80 yards, and then, opening with case and musketry, repulsed the assault. For a month no further attacks were attempted.

News of British victories at Bareli and Fathgarh induced conflicting counsels in Lucknow; and heated discussions between the rival parties, headed by the Begam of Oudh and the Maulavi Ahmad Ullah, ended in faction fights, causing the death of 100 of their followers.

On February 15 and 16 the enemy demonstrated as if about to attack, but only once came under musketry fire. On Sunday the 21st, the rebel leaders, having ascertained that General Outram attended early church parade, attacked soon after daylight, and got within 500 yards of the position ere the troops were ready to receive them, but they were then easily repulsed with a loss of 340 men. Four days later, on the 25th, the most serious attack during the three months Outram was encamped outside Lucknow was made. From 7 to 8 a.m. the Alambagh post was bombarded, while the rebel intrenchments, opposite to the British position, were crowded by men. At 10 a.m. 25,000 troops, accompanied by the Begam of Oudh, marched across the British front from left to right, taking up a position in front and rear of the Jalalabad post. Outram, realising the danger, at once resolved on a counter attack, and his troops advanced with such determination that the Begam and her Prime Minister hurriedly quitted the scene of action, the rebels' first line breaking up in disorder. Sir James then pressed on, and routed the second line.

In an attack led by Major Hodson, his troopers,

recently enlisted, would not at first close with the rebels, but the Native officers supported their British leaders, who charged into a battery. Lieutenant (now V.C., General, G.C.B.) Gough was speared and must have been killed had not Hodson, galloping up, slain his antagonist. The rebel artillerymen stood up bravely, and 50 of them died at the guns before the cannon were captured.

By 2 o'clock the action had apparently ceased; but at 5 p.m., the rebel right having been strongly reinforced, a determined assault was delivered on the left front of the British position. A picket there, having expended all its ammunition, fell back, and some ground was lost; but, a support arriving soon afterwards, the original position was reoccupied and maintained, although the struggle for it was continued till dawn next day, when the rebels retired.

The numbers of the enemy—30,000 trained men in November—gradually rose, and after the fall of Dehli totalled over 100,000 warriors. They individually fought well; but, owing to the incapacity of their leaders, who lacked the power of co-ordinating the movements of troops, were invariably repulsed by a thirtieth of their numbers.

Outram was an ideal chief for the duty assigned to him. His unfailing courage, alike at all hours of the day or night, his winning personality and cheerful demeanour, exercised an inspiring influence throughout his command.

MIANGANJ

Sir Colin Campbell, sending Brigadier-General Hope Grant to deal with some rebel chiefs, went to Allahabad to confer with Lord Canning. Hope Grant appeared in front of Mianganj on February 23, and, handling his troops with great tactical skill, changed his line of

advance from the Rohilkhand road to a position from which two of his 18-pounder guns battered the high loopholed wall surrounding the town. He then sent the 7th Hussars to stop a force of the enemy trying to outflank the British force, and with a 9-pounder battery shelled the town. A practicable breach was made in an hour, and was then stormed by the 53rd (1st Shropshire) Regiment with such determination that the men were inside the town before the enemy realised their danger. Numbers were slain in the streets, and, as the fugitives fled across the plain, 500 fell under the spears of the 9th Lancers, and the sabres of the 7th Hussars and Irregular Cavalry. Hope Grant took 400 prisoners, but released nearly all who were not Sipahis. Feb. 1858

THE ADVANCE ON LUCKNOW

The troops intended to capture Lucknow had assembled between Cawnpur on the Ganges, and Banni on the Sai River by the end of February 1858. They numbered 25,500 men, and were accompanied by 164 cannon, including a siege train and a Naval Brigade under Captain Peel with 56-pounder guns. Jang Bahadur, with 8000 Nepalese, was approaching: this imposing force, with a cavalry division 1300 strong, was a marked contrast to the small force of 1200 European infantry and 25 mounted men who had advanced towards Lucknow from Cawnpur, under Havelock, on July 20, 1857.

On March 2 Sir Colin Campbell's army moved eastward on a line nearly parallel to the fortified canal, which covered all approaches to the city from the southward, and at night the advanced guard held a line of outposts between the Dilkusha and Muhammadbagh. Mar. 1858

During the three months which had elapsed since Sir Colin Campbell, leaving Lucknow, had marched for Cawnpur, the rebels had executed an enormous amount of spade work in strengthening their defensive works covering the approaches to the city from the eastward. The banks of the canal from the Charbagh bridge on the Cawnpur road to the Gumti River, a distance of 3 miles to the north-east, had been scarped, intrenched, and studded with bastions, or enclosed redoubts, placed a quarter of a mile apart. A second line of defence had been thrown up, also facing eastward, half a mile inside, or west of the canal. It was carried southwards from the Moti Mahall enclosure wall on the Gumti, by the Mess-house to the Imambara in the Hazratganj. The Hazratganj and Begam Kothi block of buildings, covering 600 yards from east to west, had been put into a state of defence, and a strongly built mosque, a quarter of a mile to the south-east of the Begam Kothi, had been fortified and armed with three guns. On the northern side of the Kaisarbagh itself, a block of buildings 400 yards square, had been covered by a bastioned line of intrenchments, which had been built facing north-north-east.

All the principal streets had been barricaded, and on the north side of the city there was the line of palaces, extending two miles on the south bank of the Gumti, from the Moti Mahall on the east to the westernmost of the two bridges, leading into the city on its northern side. The Musabagh, a mile and a half still farther to the westward, had also been rendered defensible. The Dilkusha and Martinière were occupied as outposts on the east, or outer, bank of the canal, and beyond it was the Gumti, which at the Martinière bends at a right angle to the southward. The rebels had 100 guns in position, but, anticipating

the British line of advance would follow those taken by Havelock and Sir Colin Campbell in September and November the previous year, the leaders had neglected to build batteries on the southern bank of the Gumti to guard against an attack from the north side.

Sir Colin Campbell adopted the plan of attack from the eastward, submitted by Colonel (later Field-Marshal Lord) Napier, since it offered the easiest line of approach to the Kaisarbagh, the kernel of the rebel position, and also because the ground on the east and north sides of the city afforded good artillery positions for the besiegers.

General Outram's division was to cross the Gumti to the east of Dilkusha, and, marching westward on the northern bank, take, with its artillery, the enemy's lines of defence in reverse. Sir Colin Campbell, having driven the rebels' outposts from Dilkusha and the Martinière, would assault the intrenchments on the canal bank and fight his way through the Hazratganj to the Kaisarbagh. A division under General Franks, and Jang Bahadur's contingent were to advance from the Alambagh, and gradually close in on the south side of the Hazratganj as Sir Colin Campbell advanced from the eastward. Mar. 1858

General Outram's force—which consisted of five British and one Panjabi battalion, four horsed batteries, 22 Siege guns, two British and two Panjabi cavalry regiments—crossed the Gumti during the night of March 5–6, and the mounted troops under Hope Grant pushed back the rebel cavalry, in the open country, as far to the westward as the Iron bridge.

At 2 a.m. on the 9th Outram sent forward from his camp at the Kukrail bridge, where Sir Henry Lawrence had rallied his retreating troops on June

30, 1857, some siege guns, escorted by the 1st Bengal (1st Royal Munster) Fusiliers, to establish batteries within 600 yards of the Yellow House (Chakar Kothi), a strongly constructed building on the racecourse. It looked into the rear of the left of the rebels' intrenchments on the canal, and had been fortified by them. Brigadier Walpole's brigade marched at daybreak to the north of the racecourse, and the left brigade, which had moved during the night, attacked the Yellow House, when Walpole's troops had reached a point on the Lucknow-Faisabad road, to the west of it. The rebels fled, but nine brave Sipahis remained in the lower rooms, and killed or wounded three officers and nine privates before they were slain. Hope Grant's horsemen, extending far out on the plain, covered the right of Outram's infantry as it advanced through the Badshahbagh, where the brigades re-united, and next day, going on to the river, occupied the houses adjoining it, and opened fire on the rebels, who were in the buildings and gardens on the southern bank, while batteries were established to fire into the rear of the enemy's works in the Martinière and into those on the canal opposite to it.

Soon after daylight on the 9th three field batteries opened fire from Dilkusha on the Martinière, and during the morning Captain Sir William Peel, who had been nominated a Knight Commander of the Bath and Aide-de-Camp to the Queen, was severely wounded while standing out on a knoll in the open under musketry fire from a rifle pit to direct the practice of the naval guns, which were breaching a wall in the Martinière. The Bluejackets and heavy batteries continued the cannonade, engaging a battery later in the Martinière Park till 2 p.m., when Sir Colin Campbell, seeing the British ensign flying on

the Yellow House, ordered an assault, for which the enemy did not wait, but retired across the canal.

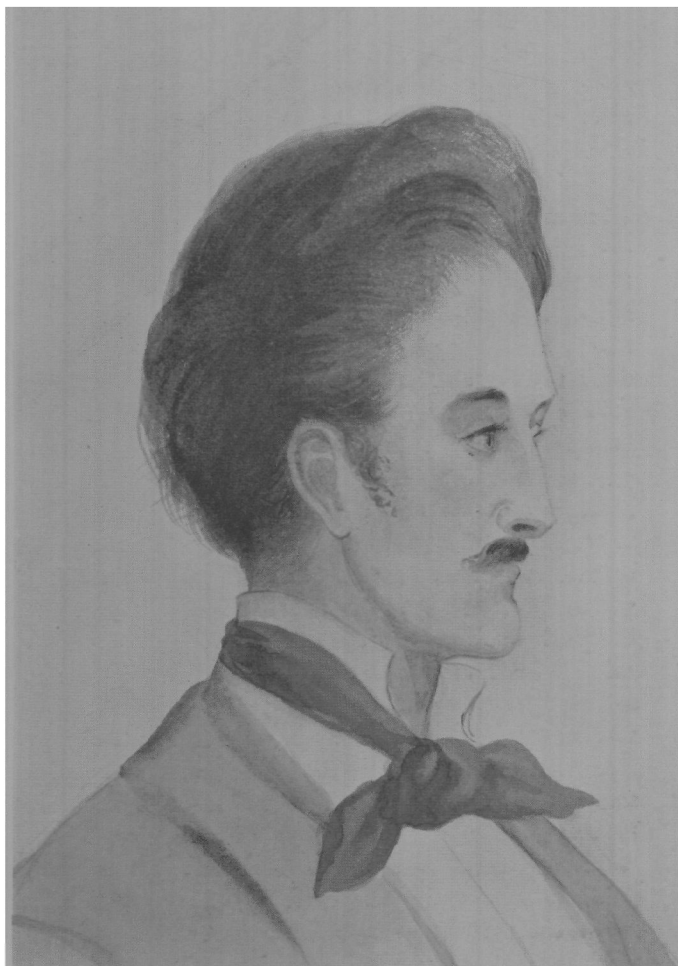
When Outram's force passed on towards the Badshahbagh, he had sent two batteries to the bend of the river to fire on the Hazratganj and to enfilade the enemy's intrenchments on the canal. As the guns were about to open fire, Major Nicholson remarked that he thought the works were deserted, and Captain Salisbury, who commanded the escort,—two companies of the 1st Bengal (1st Royal Munster) Fusiliers,—suggested searching for a boat to ferry men over, but Nicholson demurred to diminishing the escort to the Artillery. Lieutenant Butler and four privates of the Fusiliers volunteered to go down to the river bank and shout to a battalion of Highlanders who were drawn up 600 yards away that the works seemed to be deserted. The Highlanders did not hear, so Butler, taking off his coat, swam across the river, which was running swiftly, and 60 yards wide. After a difficult swim, Butler clambered up in the rear of the northern flank of the rebels' battery, where the canal joins the Gumti. Meanwhile, Sir Colin Campbell and his Staff, having from the roof of the Dilkusha, a quarter of a mile away, seen that the Highlanders were in the Martinière, cantered across the open under a heavy but innocuous fire from rebel batteries, and ascended the winding staircase to watch the advance of General Outram's force on the northern bank of the Gumti. The Staff saw a man three-quarters of a mile away emerge from the water and, climbing up the bank, stand on the parapet, wave his hand, and then, pulling off his shirt, signal with it. After half an hour's delay, owing to the timidity of a Staff officer who would not venture to order an advance on the empty work, a captain of the 42nd Highlanders

assumed the responsibility, and, followed by the 4th Panjabis, joined Butler, who then swam back to his company, having gained the Victoria Cross.

SIR WILLIAM PEEL

Adrian Hope's brigade swept along the canal defences for 2000 yards to the vicinity of the Dilkusha bridge. The day's operations had been crowned with success and had occasioned very little loss on the British side, mainly owing to the skilful operations of Outram, executed by Sir Colin Campbell's orders, in accordance with Colonel Napier's plan; but the fatal result ensuing on Captain Sir William Peel's wound was a National misfortune.

Born in 1824, the second son of that great statesman, Sir Robert, of whom the Duke of Wellington said, "Of all the men I ever knew, he had the greatest regard for truth," William Peel, while a midshipman, saw service on the Syrian coast and in Chinese waters. A remarkably brilliant examination, passed on completing six years' service, gained for him special promotion, and he became a commander two years later. When a post-captain he had jumped overboard at sea, dressed in frock-coat and epaulets, to endeavour to save a drowning Blue-jacket; and from his daring courage and winning address he became in 1854-55 the idol of the Naval Brigade, serving the guns of the right attack at Sevastopol. Peel, on October 18, 1854, to save a gun's crew, picked up a 42-pounder Russian shell with a burning fuse which had fallen near powder barrels, and resting it against his chest, carried it to the parapet, throwing it outside the battery as it burst. At Inkerman, where he had gone as a



SIR WILLIAM PEELE

From a sketch by Miss A. C. Wood taken from life, 1835 and redrawn by Miss A. M. Grace, 1865

spectator, he rallied small groups of soldiers whose officers had been killed, and with them led seven counter attacks. Consulted frequently by Lord Raglan, his influence increased daily, until having been severely wounded in the assault on the Redan, June 18, 1855, he was invalided.

From the time he landed in Calcutta, August 1857, to March 9, 1858, Peel's Naval Brigade was always in front. With unusual personal advantages in face and figure, he was clever and well educated. A good sailor, and a sound navigator, he had extraordinary powers of organisation, and was thus enabled to move 24-pounder guns with a line of skirmishers and breach the solid walls of the Lucknow palaces with 56-pounder (8 inch) guns. He was recovering from his wound when the Naval Brigade left Lucknow to return to its ships. The ship's carpenters prepared one of the ex-King of Oudh's carriages for their beloved chief, but he preferred to be carried in a doli. Unfortunately, that in which he was placed had been used for a smallpox patient, and Peel died at Cawnpur on April 27. Eulogised by Lord Canning in a general order, he was regretted by all in the United Kingdom, and by the whole of the Europeans in India, who commemorated his memory by a marble statue at Calcutta.

CHAPTER XVII

THE SIEGE, AND CAPTURE OF LUCKNOW

DURING the night of March 10-11, 12 siege pieces in battery bombarded the Begam Kothi and the bastion built in front of the Hazratganj, and at daylight on the 11th, 8 more cannon, manned by the Naval Brigade, opened on the same targets, firing also on the Mess-house and Kaisarbagh. During the day Lieutenants Carnegy, Lang, and Medley, of the Bengal Engineers, noticing the absence of sound in the enclosure of the Kadam Rasul (literally, "Prophet's Footstep"), 600 yards from the enemy's second line of defence, crept in, and from the roof of the building saw that the Shah Najaf, 300 yards farther on, was apparently deserted. Medley's request for 100 men in order to occupy it was refused by the officer commanding at the Sikandarbagh, a quarter of a mile in the rear; but he rode on to General Lugard, who was at Bank's house, and obtained his approval, so the enclosure which had defied Sir Colin Campbell's attacks in November was garrisoned without loss, and then rendered defensible.

Sir Colin Campbell reluctantly left the Front to receive Jang Bahadur in the Dilkusha camp, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, while the interpreter was translating compliments between the red-coated Scot, and the jewel-decked Gurkha Chief, the capture

of the Begam's palace was reported. There were several palatial buildings within the enclosure known under the name. Each was capable of protracted defence by desperate men; for the houses and outhouses resembled a rabbit warren, with their twisting alleys and dim recesses, common in buildings where rich Eastern princes house their numerous women. All the mansions had been covered by defensible breastworks, and protected by deep ditches, so although the outer works of the main enclosure had been beaten down by the incessant bombardment, yet successive combats ensued in the assault of the interior positions.

General Lugard had assigned to General Adrian Hope the honour of commanding the two assaulting columns, formed of the 93rd (2nd Argyll and Sutherland) Highlanders and 4th (57th Frontier Force) Panjabis, with Gurkhas in support. The bombardment had ceased, and the enemy's musketry had slackened, when Adrian Hope gave the signal to the men of the storming parties, who were lying under cover of some ruined buildings; and to the skirl of the bagpipes the Highlanders ran steadily forward under a storm of musketry fired from the palace walls. The right or northern party came on a ditch 18 feet wide and 10 feet deep, but Captain Middleton, followed by his company, jumped down, and the men pushed up Lieutenants Hay and Wood, on to the berm (ledge between the top of the ditch and foot of parapet), and then the officers, pulling up the men, passed unopposed through the right breach, just as Captain Clarke entered the southern breach with the left party; for the rebels, not expecting the assault, had left the breaches undefended. The two columns then advanced on parallel lines.

Mar. 11
1858

Piper-Major John Macleod, who was first man through the northern breach, immediately sounded the pibroch, apparently regardless of a hail of bullets, pouring through loopholes; for in the interior of the enclosure, as stated above, were a succession of courtyards and gardens surrounded by high walls. The Highlanders tried to pass through a narrow hole made by our guns in a wall, but were checked until the men broke through some blocked-up windows. Adrian Hope was shoved up to one by his Highlanders, and he dropped, with claymore in right, and revolver in left hand, into a dark room, alighting in a group of Sipahis, who fled appalled by his huge stature and fierce demeanour. Other rebels were more stout-hearted, and wherever a door, postern gate, or window could be barricaded, there were some standing at bay, who shot the leading assailants. Nevertheless, others, led by their officers, pressed on past alcoves and through dark narrow passages, until they reached a large inner courtyard which was crowded by Sipahis. The numbers of Highlanders and Panjabis were insignificant in comparison with the mass of dark-faced men opposing them, but on the command, "Keep together—use the bayonet," they advanced. No man asked for quarter; no man got it.

Lieutenant William M'Bean, Adjutant 93rd (2nd Argyll and Sutherland) Highlanders, who had been a sergeant four years earlier at the Alma, had many personal encounters. "Regulation Willie," as he was called in kilted battalions, slew with claymore, or pistol—mainly the former—eleven rebels, and other Highlanders bayoneted an equal number. The Sipahis were gradually pushed back, but stoutly defended the small dim chambers and dungeon-like cells in which

they took refuge; bags of gunpowder with lighted slow matches were thrown in, and the rebels then rushed out on to the bayonets of their foes. For two long hours the death struggle continued, only ceasing when all Sipahis in front of the right column were dead. The party which had entered by the southern breach drove the rebels with terrible slaughter through the Begam's palace, and Captain W. D. Stewart led two companies of the 93rd (2nd Argyll and Sutherland) Highlanders in pursuit, up to the outworks of the Kaisarbagh, where he came under close and heavy fire from a loopholed wall at the end of a street. A company, 42nd (Black Watch) Highlanders, under Captain J. Drysdale, went to Stewart's assistance, and immediately had several casualties.

Major Hodson, learning when in camp that the Begam Kothi was to be assaulted, rode down to Bank's house, and entered the southern breach with Colonel (Field-Marshal Lord) Napier, but some time after the troops. Hodson was following Captain W. Stewart's line of advance, when two Highlanders asked him where they could get some powder-bags to blow in a door. Hodson, pointing to the place, ran on to the spot whence the soldiers had come, and called out to Sergeant Forbes Mitchell, 93rd Highlanders, "Where are the rebels?" The sergeant, pointing to the door, begged him to wait for the powder-bags, saying, "'Tis certain death," but Hodson, shouting, "Come on," stepped forward, and, as Forbes Mitchell tried to pull him aside, the rebels, firing behind the door, shot Hodson through the chest. He fell exclaiming, "Oh, my wife," and died next day, in his thirty-seventh year, as bravely as he had lived. The infantry on the Ridge regarded him as the bravest man in the Dehli Field Force. A few minutes after

Hodson had fallen, the door having been blown in, his fall was fully avenged.

Darkness put an end to the fighting between the left column of Highlanders and masses of the enemy, which now disappeared. The numerous women in the zenana were protected by an officer's guard of Europeans placed over their apartments. The main body, under the personal command of Sir Colin Campbell, bivouacked on a frontage of a mile extending from the Gumti, near the Sikandarbagh on the north, to beyond the Begam Kothi on the south. General Outram's force held the northern bank of the Gumti as far west as the Iron bridge.

When day broke on March 12 the ghastly scenes in the Begam Kothi were revealed. The features of corpses of men who have been bayoneted are nearly always painfully distorted, but the *Times* Correspondent, Mr. (later Sir) William Howard Russell, who, acting in a similar capacity, had visited the hospital at Sevastopol after the capture of the city in September 1855, wrote that the horrors of that charnel-house were far exceeded by those in the Begam's palace. In the rooms, passages, and court-yards 600 dead Sipahis lay in thick heaps; their clothes, having in many cases caught fire, had charred the corpses. A curt sentence of grim suggestiveness in Sir Colin Campbell's despatch tells the tale: "The capture of the Begam Kothi was the sternest struggle which occurred during the Siege."

OUTRAM'S OPERATIONS NORTH OF THE GUMTI— CAPTURE OF THE KAISARBAGH

General Outram, who had captured on the 11th a rebel camp with two guns to the west of the

Badshahbagh, held the river bank until March 14, enfilading with the fire of his Siege batteries the fortified positions the main army was attacking. Amongst those who fell was Lieutenant W. R. Moorsom, 52nd Light Infantry, who had greatly distinguished himself during the operations. He had surveyed the city in 1856 when Oudh was annexed, and when the Meerut outbreak occurred was employed on a Government Survey in Ceylon. Hastening, at his own expense, to Calcutta and thence northwards, after repairing the damaged telegraph line between Benares and Allahabad, he joined Havelock's column. He furnished the Route Sketch for Havelock's advance on the Residency, and himself guided some troops almost without loss by a street parallel to the court wherein Neill was killed. He extricated, after repeated efforts, the survivors of Dr. (Sir Anthony, V.C.) Home's party.

Outram received on the 12th 15 more pieces of heavy ordnance, which were directed on the Kaisarbagh and later on the Residency and other rebel-held positions about the bridges. Early on the 12th Outram placed marksmen in the houses of the wide street leading to the Iron bridge to keep down the enemy's musketry fire from the roofs and windows on the southern bank, 40 yards distant, which was directed on the gunners of the Siege batteries in position on each side of the bridge.

This contest continued all through the 13th, and till early on the 14th, when Outram prepared to cross the river. Lieutenant Wynne and Sergeant Paul, Royal Engineers, volunteered to clear away the sandbag barricade which blocked the bridge. They had removed some bags, handing them to an extended line of soldiers who were lying down, when the rebels opened a heavy fire on the two men, who, however,

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continued to work, stooping lower and lower as layer by layer the height of the barricade was diminished, until only two rows remained, when they ran back unscathed. General Outram, having reconnoitred, told his force later that he had been forbidden to cross if he saw a chance of "losing a single man."

In the main body of the army some changes were effected on the 12th, General Franks's division relieving that of General Lugard in the Begam Kothi, or extreme front, and Jang Bahadur's contingent holding the canal from Bank's house, Dilkusha road, to the Charbagh bridge on the Cawnpur road.

Colonel (later Field-Marshal Lord) Napier, who directed the engineering operations, had caused a roadway to be cleared through all the houses towards the south-east corner of the little Imambara, but south of the Dilkusha Residency road, thus avoiding the fortifications which closed in on a redoubt built against the north wall of the little Imambara, which stood on that road. The building had been vigorously shelled by Outram's Siege batteries on the north side of the Gumti, and by the sailors' guns, which, being gradually advanced, were now throwing 56 lb. projectiles against the massive walls at 30 yards' distance.

At daylight on the 14th two breaches were nearly practicable, and the storming parties—two companies 10th (Lincolnshire) Regiment and two Brasyer's (14th Firuzpur) Sikhs—were drawn up under a wall on the opposite side of the Imambara road, accompanied by sappers with scaling ladders and powder-bags, and supported by Russell's brigade. The enemy from the tops of the walls and roofs of the neighbouring houses were maintaining a brisk fire, when at 9 a.m., as the signal was about to be given in front, the brigade standing farther back cheered loudly. Lieutenant

Beaumont, Royal Engineers, had been working through some earthen walls towards the last house on the eastern side of the road running north and south of the Imambara, and "broke out" close to a trench cut across the road to defend it. He blew in the Imambara wall, and Brasyer, who was with him, anticipated the order to assault. Russell's brigade, waiting impatiently for the signal, saw first a Sikh and then Brasyer, followed by another Sikh, appear on the Imambara. The columns then advanced through the breaches, and seized two houses, from the roofs of which they overlooked the north-east corner of the Kaisarbagh enclosure—*i.e.* the Saadat Ali mosque. The rebels were pursued out of the Imambara enclosure by some of Brasyer's Sikhs, keen to avenge the death of Captain Dacosta, who had been shot while bravely leading them. With the Sikhs went a party of the 10th (Lincolnshire) Regiment.

Captain Havelock, V.C., General Franks's Staff officer, guided some of the 90th Light Infantry, and Brasyer led his Sikhs with them to the roofs of houses from which their fire drove off the defenders of the three bastions on the east of the Kaisarbagh fortifications. Brasyer then descending cleared the courtyards to the east of the works; while Havelock, running back, brought up Captain Annesley's company of the Lincolns, which attacked the houses and enclosures to the west of the Tara Koti and the Mess house. While the Lincolns and Sikhs were thus occupied, the enemy, noticing the small numbers of their assailants, advanced on both flanks, while thousands who were retreating from the Mess house and Tara Koti must have overwhelmed Brasyer's Sikhs, and Annesley's company had not Havelock charged with 60 Sikhs along the enemy's intrenchment

and, capturing six guns, turned them on the masses of Sipahis. Just then Colonel Purnell brought up a company of the 90th Light Infantry to Havelock's support, and shortly afterwards General Franks, to whom Havelock had written four requests for help, came up with General Napier. These two senior officers discussed the situation. The Commander-in-Chief had arranged to assault the Kaisarbagh on the 15th, but the unforeseen had happened, and Franks decided promptly. Sending back for reinforcements, he ordered an advance from the Sikandarbagh and from all posts to the south of it, while his leading brigade made and passed through an opening in the Saadat Ali mosque enclosure, advancing thence into the Kaisarbagh gardens. They were composed of a number of courts, still crowded with mutinous Sipahis, but Brasyer, with 150 Sikhs, and a company of the 90th Light Infantry, following up the retreating enemy, engaged them in a struggle with the bayonet, which was carried out under musketry fire poured down from the roofs of adjoining buildings. The Sipahis were gradually pushed back into the building formerly occupied by the King.

Now, however, many rebels crowding into the gardens from the west side of the Saadat Ali mosque enclosure, behind the small body of Britons and Sikhs, drove them back; but then there came a reinforcement, a crowd of eager, excited men bent on fighting and plunder,—British Bluejackets, Soldiers, Gurkhas, and Sikhs, representing all corps in the Front,—and these soon slew every rebel, except such as took refuge inside the buildings. From behind Venetian blinds and through every other opening bullets struck down Britons and Sikhs, but the assailants, breaking down doors and window shutters, entered the building and

killed every Sipahi they saw. They tossed out of the windows all kinds of female dress in the search for gold pieces. These were soon found, and scattered in profusion, for no one man could bear off the quantity discovered; but the sight increased the ardour with which every defended room was stormed. Solid silver plate, rare specimens of china and crystal, and all sorts of Eastern and Western art, were thrown into the courtyards. When night fell the luxurious palace, furnished with every kind of ornament Eastern fancy could desire, had become a slaughterhouse in ruins, for after the fighting men were satiated with plunder, a crowd of camp followers who had been waiting in the streets of the Hazratganj flocked in to complete the destruction. That night the British troops bivouacked on the line from the Chatar Manzil—to the western face of the Kaisarbagh.

OUTRAM'S PROPOSAL

General Outram with three brigades of infantry, covered by Hope Grant's mounted men, had held the houses on the north side of the Iron bridge over the Gumti, from which the barricade had been removed. The enemy were in the houses abutting on the south bank, but the fire of the Sipahis had been sufficiently dominated to enable the British gunners to work their heavy guns, which were in battery on both sides of the north end of the bridge, shelling the Kaisarbagh.

Sir James Outram had urged on Sir Colin Campbell's attention the decisive effect on the rebel troops obtainable by an advance from the north over the bridge, simultaneously with an assault on the Kaisarbagh from the east side, but the Chief declined to sanction the movement, unless Outram thought it

could be effected "without the loss of a single man."

Sir Colin Campbell had in January and February, when advising the Governor-General as to future operations against the rebels, enlarged on the risk to Europeans involved by campaigning in the hot weather, estimating the wastage at 30 per cent. of troops so engaged. Outram, though personally brave to rashness, was not only an experienced commander, but very cautious in risking the lives of those under his command unless the object was adequate to the possible sacrifice. He had an overwhelming number of guns to cover a rush across the Iron bridge with cover available within 40 yards on the farther side. Lieutenant Wynne and Sergeant Paul had worked on the bridge for several minutes and remained untouched, but Outram could not assert that there was no chance of his "losing a single man."

Sir Colin Campbell commanded 60,000 more European troops than there were in India when the Mutiny had broken out, but he hoped to reduce Lucknow by means of his artillery. He knew the difficulty of replacing British soldiers, and, like some of his predecessors, and successors in command of British armies, by giving way to his desire to save the lives of his men he expended many more lives and much more money than he would have done had he accorded General Outram a free hand. Such discretionary power was the more desirable from the experience gleaned in the operations over the same ground in the previous November. Then Sir Colin had been impressed by the frightful carnage in the Sikandarbagh, and by the tenacity with which the Sipahis clung to the walls of the Shah Najaf. From the former there was, however, no avenue of escape for the Sipahis,

and in the latter the high walls sheltered them until under the cover of night they retreated, and the persevering courage of Adrian Hope secured the position after Sir Colin had ordered his men to retire. Similarly Captain Wolseley, ordered to storm the Mess house, after doing so carried also the Moti Mahall, the assault of which had been arranged for the following day. General Outram obeyed his Chief's positive orders, but with the result that many thousands of Europeans fell in the next fourteen months, 1000 dying in May alone from sunstroke, over-exertion, and disease contracted in pursuing rebels who escaped from Lucknow.

Early on March 15 it was discovered that numbers of Sipahis were still in the lower rooms of the northern buildings of the Kaisarbagh, and they were either slain or driven out. Further plundering of the palaces was forbidden, and sappers worked to extinguish fires and remove powder which was stored in many of the courtyards.

The Headquarters Staff arrangements, so good up to March 13, failed entirely on the 14th and 16th. The unfortunate restriction which kept Outram inactive on the north bank of the Gumti while many of the rebels were leaving the city was followed by another mistake. In Hope Grant Sir Colin Campbell had a brilliant cavalry leader with much recent local experience, who commanded 1100 horsemen and 12 horse artillery guns, and to whom discretion should have been accorded. General Campbell commanded 1500 cavalry at the Alambagh. Both generals were kept inactive till the 15th, and were then directed by precise orders sent from Dilkusha Headquarters Camp to pursue on the 16th—Grant, due north on the Sitapur road; Campbell to the north-west towards

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Sandila. They did so, but no rebels were seen, although 20,000 marched eastward towards Faisabad behind Grant's column.

General Outram, in pursuance of the Chief's orders, leaving Walpole in position at the Iron bridge, marched back eastward on the 16th to opposite the Sikandarbagh, where he crossed on a cask bridge, and captured in succession the Residency, Machchi Bhawan, and Great Imambara, with but little loss, the enemy abandoning seven guns. While Outram was advancing westwards on the south side, 5000 rebels fell back on the Musabagh, a large palace on the southern bank of the Gumti surrounded by fine gardens, 5 miles north-west of the city; and 20,000 crossing the river by the Stone bridge, 1000 yards to the west of the Iron bridge, sent a detachment to attack Walpole's outposts, while the main body marched to the eastward on the Faisabad road without being molested, Grant being absent.

At 9 a.m. the same day a large body of Sipahis moving out of the city attacked the Alambagh, held by a weak garrison; but at 1.30 p.m. the enemy retired, beaten mainly by artillery ably handled by Major Vincent Eyre. Next morning the Nepalese contingent, under the personal command of Jang Bahadur, were attacked by rebels issuing from the city, but the Gurkhas, skilfully led, made a counter attack and carried every position from the Cawnpur road on the east to the Residency on the west, capturing ten guns. The same day Outram seized a succession of buildings three-quarters of a mile farther westwards, without loss, except from an accidental explosion of gunpowder which was being thrown down a well. A metal case exploded on striking the stone lining of the well, and two officers and thirty sappers were killed, or mortally injured.

THE ADVANCE ON THE MUSABAGH

On the 19th General Outram moved at 6.30 a.m. to attack 7000 rebels in the Musabagh, Brigadier Campbell being ordered to cut off the retreat of its garrison to the westward, while the Nepalese were to prevent their return into the city. Outram's advance was delayed by the engineers having to break through a very thick wall of a house which was occupied by the enemy east of the Musabagh. Before this was completed the Sipahis retired. Captain Coles, with 2 squadrons 9th Lancers, pursued them, killing 100 men and securing 12 guns.

General Campbell left his camp near the Alambagh at 2 a.m. with 1500 cavalry and a brigade of infantry. Before he reached the assigned position on the enemy's line of retreat his advanced guard was fired on by some men in a small mud fort, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hagart, 7th Hussars, with a half troop (about 25 men) of his regiment, a troop of Hodson's Horse, and 2 guns, were sent to dislodge the enemy. Two rounds had been fired when 50 swordsmen, led by a chief of abnormal stature, rushing out of the fort, ran towards the guns. The troop 7th Hussars was ordered to charge, but before the men did so their captain, Slade, was severely wounded. Cornet Bankes and his horse were cut down, both mortally wounded, and Lieutenant Wilkin had his foot nearly severed as he was warding off a blow aimed at the prostrate cornet. Wilkin, wheeling his horse round, charged again, following Colonel Hagart, who had galloped up. Hagart rode three times through and through a group of the enemy, who were hacking at the officer on the ground, and the half troop of 7th Hussars now joined in the fight. Two Sikhs of Hodson's Horse, who had

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come up, engaged the chief rebel and another finely built man. After an innocuous interchange of blows, both Sikhs, dismounting, fought with talwars (native swords) and shields. The rebel leader three times felled one of the Sikhs to the ground ; but he recovered his feet, and with a back-handed blow nearly severed the rebel's neck. The other Sikh was equally successful with his antagonist. By this time the Hussars had slain the whole 50 fanatics, who, indeed, fought in order to die. Colonel Hagart's determined courage saved Cornet Bankes for the time, though he succumbed to his fearful wounds a fortnight later. The colonel pistoled three rebels, brained another with the hilt of his sword, which was dented in ; and his silk handkerchief, used as a sword knot, was cut as cleanly as if with a razor into two pieces. The horse and saddle were slashed in front and behind, the martingale severed, and a slice taken off the rider's right hand. Sir Colin Campbell refused Hope Grant's recommendation of Hagart for the Victoria Cross, on the ground that it would be an inappropriate reward for so senior an officer.

The delay of the march of 2000 men caused by 50 devoted fanatics enabled most of the 7000 rebels to escape from the Musabagh, though some foot-men were overtaken and slain.

On March 20 Lord Canning's proclamation, confiscating the proprietary rights of all but six landowners in Oudh, with a saving clause for those who had befriended British subjects, was received. Its publication was universally condemned by the army at Lucknow, as tending to prolong anarchy, and General Outram's vigorous protest, as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, induced the insertion of some qualifying clauses in favour of such as might help in restoring law and order.

On March 21 General Lugard was sent to dislodge the Maulavi of Bareli, who had returned to Lucknow and occupied a fortified house, armed with two cannon, in the centre of the city. The brunt of the fighting fell on the 4th Panjab Rifles (57th Wilde's Rifles, Frontier Force). The commandant and second-in-command were severely wounded, and many brave Panjabis killed ere the Maulavi's men were driven out. Then they were caught by Campbell's cavalry, and pursued for 6 miles, suffering heavy losses.

During the night of March 22-23 Hope Grant, with a strong force, marched on Kursi, 25 miles to the east of Lucknow, where 4000 rebels were reported to be in position. They left the town when Hope Grant's advance guard approached, and the general sent Major Browne (later General Sir Samuel Browne, V.C., G.C.B.) in pursuit with the 2nd Panjab (22nd Cavalry, Frontier Force) Cavalry, and 1 squadron 1st Panjab (21st Frontier Force) Cavalry, and 3 Horse Artillery guns, Hope Grant following with his Staff and overtaking Browne in time to witness his fifth charge. He had attacked a rebel battery moving across a plain, escorted by infantry, who stood up bravely after having been ridden through four times, and in Browne's final charge killed or mortally wounded the second-in-command, and adjutant of the regiment.

Browne's men were equally resolute; a Sikh was knocked off his horse, being mortally wounded in the stomach. He presently rallied, remounted, and, galloping into the midst of the rebels, slew 2 men, and then dropped out of his saddle dead. The rebels were broken up, losing 200 men killed, and 14 guns.

This was the last of the fights near Lucknow. Its siege and capture cost Sir Colin's army 735 men

killed and wounded ; the losses to the enemy were incalculable.

The two serious errors in the Staff arrangements have been mentioned. It is unnecessary to consider with whom they originated, for the Chief who reaps the principal reward must be held answerable for all which is done in his name. The sustained resolution of this grand old Scot cannot, however, be overpraised. Though his caution for the lives of his men was not appreciated by them, and the restraining order to Outram induced terrible losses from exposure to climate later, they enthusiastically admired his reckless personal daring in action, and his marvellous endurance. Night after night Sir Colin rolled himself up in a blanket and bivouacked amongst the outpost. To him a ride of 50 miles out and back from Cawnpur to the troops assembling near the Sai River was but a part of his ordinary day's work.

In July 1849, in a letter addressed to his countryman, Sir Hope Grant, for whom he had an affectionate admiration, he writes of "leaving India, and terminating his military career." It had been spent since 1808 in fighting for his country ; but he served on to be twice superseded by juniors in the Crimea, who, until the battle of the Alma, had never been on service, and to whom as a soldier he was superior in every respect. Somewhat quick in temper, Colin Campbell's blunt, outspoken speech made him unpopular at the Horse Guards, but in the society of ladies he was a delightful, courteous gentleman.

CHAPTER XVIII

BOMBAY, AND CENTRAL INDIA

THE prompt action taken by Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of the Bombay Presidency, on receipt of the Meerut news was recorded in the opening chapter of this narrative. He had been a successful Governor of Madras twenty years earlier, and when travelling in India ten years before the Mutiny he had made an adventurous and pioneer journey, from the Gilgit Valley in Kashmir, over the intervening mountains, to the Indus Valley by a pass until then unknown to Europeans. He had been Governor of the Presidency of Bombay since 1853, controlling 20 millions of natives in that long, narrow strip of country, and the Native States subordinate to it.

Lord Elphinstone's wide experience and delightfully polished manners had, amongst the Europeans, added to the reputation with which he came to Bombay. His knowledge of the Native races was great; his courage in dealing with them even greater. Early in May 1857, in order to suppress an outbreak in Bharoch unconnected with the Sipahi mutiny, he sent 150 Europeans 200 miles away, leaving the city of Bombay and its population of 500,000 with a garrison of only 350 white soldiers. In the Presidency there were only 5000, and they were scattered, by small detachments in different stations, over 700 miles of country from north to south.

The Bombay Native army of 31,000 men had many Oudh Sipahis in the ranks, but the discipline was better than that of the Bengal army. The recruiting into one battalion of different races and a proportion of low-caste Hindus rendered the organisation of mutiny in Bombay troops more difficult than it was in Bengal. Nevertheless, the outbreak in Meerut, followed by the slaughter of Christians at Dehli, caused great excitement throughout all India, and the 27th, 28th, and 29th Regiments of the Bombay army, quartered in the Southern Maratha country, had by the end of July agreed to mutiny. The 27th at Kolhapur, the chief town of a Native State 220 miles south of Bombay, was to set the example, to be followed in succession by the 29th Regiment at Belgaon, 100 miles farther south, and by the 28th Regiment at Dharwar, 40 miles south of Belgaon. The organisers of the mutiny made a mistake in not arranging to rise simultaneously, for they had not realised the effect of telegraphic communication. The outbreak at Kolhapur was precipitated by the act of a Jew, the Native adjutant of the 27th Regiment, in sending his family away, which frightened the conspirators into a belief that their plots had been discovered.

There were many landowners in the southern part of the Presidency anxious to tamper with the Native army, for discontent was widespread; and, while the well-wishers of the Government were poor and powerless, nearly all the influential classes were inimical. The Government had for years been petitioned to do justice to landowners and their descendants, dispossessed of estates by force or fraud in the time of the Peshwa Bajee Row. The titles of the existing occupiers, even where good, were not often susceptible of proof, and after five

years' work the Inam, or Land Commission, reported in 1857 against the rights of 21,000 occupiers in the 35,000 cases which had been under investigation. The other 14,000 owners lived in terror of ruin. The only aim of the Government was to do justice, but the dispossessed occupants of the estates regarded the action of the paramount Power as iniquitous tyranny, for they had in most cases held the land 40 years—that is, since the rule of Bajee Row, the Peshwa. Nana Sahib, whom nearly all Hindus regarded as the lawful Peshwa, and who had married into one of the great families of the country, did all he could to induce a revolt. Moreover, Lord Dalhousie's enunciation of the doctrine of the "Right of Lapse" had frightened the Hindus, the preponderating class, and particularly the influential but childless Chief of Nargund, a Native State 30 miles east of Dharwar, who had personally petitioned for leave to adopt an heir and successor, but had been refused. He rose in rebellion a year later, and killed the newly appointed Political Agent, who was particularly obnoxious in the district, from the fact of his having sat on the Land Commission. The Chief was, however, soon captured, and hanged.

Mr. G. B. Seton Karr, the Chief Political Agent of the Southern Maratha country, was by education, inclination, temperament, and training exceptionally well fitted for the appointment he held. He was an outspoken advocate of the rights of Native States, and his sympathetic views made every landowner regard him as a friend, though nearly all resented the action of the Government. He visited every one of them in his district, trying to allay discontent, and inculcating patience on chiefs who felt aggrieved. He also obtained valuable information from some of his Native friends, over whom he had gained great influence, and

early in June he arrested an emissary from the disaffected landowners of the North-West Provinces. On June 20 Lord Elphinstone, although unable to afford Mr. Seton Karr material aid, acceded to his request for authority to deal with any outbreak which might occur.

At Belgaon, the military headquarters of the Southern District, there were 500 European women and children, guarded by 25 British gunners and 30 infantry. The fort, a mile in circumference, had been assigned as a refuge in case of need, and workmen were employed to repair the main breaches in its ramparts.

Mr. Seton Karr learnt that the arrangements for mutiny in the 29th Bombay Infantry were in the hands of Thakur Singh, one of the senior Native officers; and, having heard by telegraph of the mutiny of the 27th Regiment, not venturing to arrest Thakur Singh, he arranged with General Lester to send that officer with his company and another on detachment to Badami, a town 90 miles to the eastward. The detachments left on August 2, before the events of the night of July 31–August 1 at Kolhapur were known at Belgaon, and when the news was received, the Sipahis, deprived of their leader, hesitated to rise. Mr. Seton Karr now arrested and brought to trial some local conspirators, and also an emissary from Jamkhandi, a small Native State 70 miles north-east of Belgaon, who had come to arrange an outbreak. One of the local malcontents and the Jamkhandi emissary were convicted, and blown away from guns on August 10.

THE OUTBREAK AT KOLHAPUR

At Kolhapur, during the night of July 31–August 1, the 27th Bombay Regiment rose, and detailed parties to shoot the officers in their bungalows. The Native

adjutant, a Jew, and a Hindu sergeant ran round and warned the officers, and the ladies escaped just before the mutineers, marching up, fired volleys into the houses. Some British officers tried, but in vain, to bring the men back to their duty. Three officers were murdered, and the others went to the Residency, a mile away, which was held by a loyal local battalion.

The Sipahis, having plundered the Treasury and looted the station, marched on the town; but Colonel Maughan, Assistant Political Agent, had closed the gates, so the Sipahis took up a position in an outwork just outside, beating off an attack made by Colonel Maughan. Many of the mutineers marched off to the jungles, but 40 returned to the outwork. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Kerr arrived from Satarah, 80 miles distant, in twenty-six hours, with 50 of the Southern Maratha Horse, having halted only to feed the animals; the country was under water, and the party had been obliged to swim five rivers. On August 10 the outwork was attacked by Kerr, supported by a few of the now repentant 27th Battalion under Lieutenant Innes.

Lieutenant Kerr, having ascertained there was a closed, disused entrance to the outwork, obtained crowbars, and broke through the lower panel of a door, through which he and 17 dismounted troopers crawled in succession. They had much hand-to-hand fighting with 20 mutineers they encountered. Trooper Gunputrao, who never left his White officer's side, twice saved his life by opportunely killing the lieutenant's antagonists. One Sipahi, firing close to Lieutenant Kerr's face, blinded him for some moments, and while he was withdrawing his sword, which stuck in the man's body, another mutineer coming up behind felled Kerr to the ground by a blow with the butt end of his musket.

The Sipahis now retired into a house, which was set on fire by Kerr's men. Some Sipahis perished in the flames, but others stood behind a gate, where they were joined by 18 other mutineers; shots were exchanged at such short distance that the flames of a mutineer's musket set the seat of Gunputrao's cotton breeches on fire, who was much inconvenienced, but laughingly extinguished the burning garment by sitting in a pool of water. Kerr and Gunputrao then broke down the gate with crowbars, and the mutineers fell back into a small temple, whence they continued to fire on their assailants. Kerr's men now collected some straw which was at hand,—for the Rajah's stables were in the outwork,—and set the temple door on fire, and as it fell Kerr charged into the room with his men, slaying all but three mutineers, who surrendered.

The desperate character of the struggle may be gathered from the fact that only 5 out of Kerr's indomitable 17 Marathas survived, and they were all wounded. Lieutenant Kerr gained the Victoria Cross, and Gunputrao was made an officer.

Colonel Le Grand Jacob arrived at Kolhapur after the Mutiny had been quelled, and on the 18th, 90 of the 2nd Bombay Europeans, and 2 more squadrons Maratha Horse having joined the garrison, the colonel disarmed the 27th Bombay Infantry.

THE POLITICAL POSITION AT BOMBAY

Life in the city of Bombay went on as usual, without panics such as brought discredit on many of the Christian residents of Calcutta on June 14. The tranquillity of Bombay was in a great degree due to the courage, foresight, and remarkable knowledge of the Chief of Police, Mr. C. Forjett, in whom the

Governor placed great trust. Mr. Forjett, born and brought up in India, spoke Hindustani like a Native. In 1855, having done well in the Southern Maratha country, he was offered by Lord Elphinstone the Bombay appointment. He requested that his nomination might be deferred for a fortnight, during which time he lived the life of a Native, frequenting the same houses as did the police. He tested the honesty of some of the European police, not one of whom refused a bribe.

When the Cawnpur news reached Bombay Mr. Forjett got permission to engage 50 additional Europeans in the police, for there were only from 300 to 400 European soldiers to overawe three Native battalions.

On the last day of the Muharram festival an Feb. 1857 alarming riot occurred. A drunken Christian Regimental bandsman of a Bombay regiment assaulted the carriers of a Hindu idol in a procession, knocking over the divinity. The Native police put the Christian in a lock-up. Twenty of the battalion broke into the prison, released the drummer, and made prisoners of his captors, assaulting the European constables, who demanded their release. Mr. Forjett heard of the occurrence, and ordering the constables to follow him, galloped to the lines, where the European officers were trying to keep their soldiers within barracks. The officers, seeing how Mr. Forjett's presence excited the men, who yelled at him, begged the Superintendent to go away, but with much courage, and sounder judgment, he refused, and sat alone on his horse, facing the excited crowd until the 50 European police arrived, when the Sipahis recognised that the Europeans were still their masters.

Later on the Native troops arranged that during the Duali festival, at the end of October, they would

mutiny, plunder the city, and then leave it. Mr. Forjett obtained full information of the plot, and by boring holes through a wall listened to many councils of the conspirators; and on four occasions took with him the officer commanding one of the battalions, who overheard his men, in whom he had full confidence, arranging to rise in mutiny. Some of the conspirators were tried, 2 executed, and 6 transported for life.

It was the unanimous opinion of all classes in the city that Mr. Forjett saved it. The European and Native communities after the suppression of the Mutiny presented him with addresses, and sums amounting to £19,000.

THE NIZAM'S TERRITORY

The Bhopal Contingent, only impassively loyal in the face of Holkar's mutinous troops, had declined to march with the Resident, Colonel Durand, when he was driven out of Indur; and the Contingent insisted on going back to their headquarters at Sihor. Colonel Durand reached Mau on August 2 with a small column sent up from Bombay.

Lord Elphinstone, with a clear perception of military matters, had caused a small force of $2\frac{1}{2}$ squadrons, 14th Light Dragoons, a Horse battery, and the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, to leave Puna on June 8 for Mau. It was intended that the 1st Haidarabad Cavalry should join the column as it passed by the Nizam's dominions, in the north-west corner of which Aurangabad is situated, 140 miles north-east of Puna.

The ruler of these dominions, which are larger than Great Britain, died on May 18, 1857, and the many discontented Natives in the capital hoping that his successor would not rely so absolutely on Salar Jang,

the Prime Minister, as the late Nizam had done, placarded Haidarabad on June 12 with appeals to the Faithful to murder all Europeans.

Salar Jang was a man of unusual ability, and while able to see the disadvantages, he appreciated even more fully the unquestionable advantages of British supremacy in India. The Resident, Major C. Davidson, was tactful, courageous, and worked in thorough accord with Salar Jang, whose paramount influence in the State, after the accession of the new Nizam, was maintained. Nevertheless, the political situation was dangerous, and the men of the 1st Haidarabad Cavalry, learning that the regiment was to join the Puna column, openly declared that as soldiers of a Muhammadan ruler, whose predecessors were nominees of the Emperor of Dehli, they would not fight their co-religionists, and there were some even who vowed to murder their officers sooner than do so.

The commanding officer, with the approval of the Resident, assured the regiment it would not be sent to Dehli, and no further breach of discipline occurred at the moment; but the officers put their mess-house in a state of defence, and the Puna column, on its way to Malwa, where its services were urgently required, was diverted to Aurangabad. On June 23 the column marched on to the parade ground of the 1st Haidarabad Cavalry. Five troops obeyed the order to give up their arms; the 6th troop hesitated, and after five minutes given to them for consideration galloped away. Nearly all escaped, but some were captured and 3 were hanged next morning for attempted assassination.

The general in command, who was in bad health, thought the column was still required at Aurangabad; and when he, being invalided, went away, his successor remained inactive. Lord Elphinstone, with sounder

June 23
1857

judgment, wrote, in pressing terms, that the troops should hasten to Mau, and on July 12 the force moved on, under command of Colonel C. S. Stuart, who had been sent up to replace the general. Ten days later a rising occurred at Haidarabad, and the rebels attacked the Residency, which had been fortified by Major Davidson. The attack was repulsed, and some of the Nizam's troops coming up, charged and routed the assailants. With trifling exceptions order was maintained in the Nizam's extensive territory, and some months later the Haidarabad Contingent, including the 1st Cavalry Regiment, fought bravely on the British side in Central India.

ASIRGARH

The fortress of Asirgarh, 300 miles north-east of Bombay, and 100 miles south-east of Mau, is perched on a steep hill, rising 500 feet above the little town at its foot. It was garrisoned temporarily by half a battalion of the Gwalior Contingent, which had replaced
July 1857 Bombay troops ordered to Persia. The Meerut-Dehli news excited the Sipahis, and Lieutenant Gordon, the Fort Adjutant, mistrusting them, enlisted a company of villagers. A company of the battalion was sent nominally as an outpost to Burhampur, 12 miles to the southward, but in reality to get rid of dangerous men. The company mutinied, but was surprised and disarmed by a detachment of a Bhil battalion, and Gordon, assisted by a loyal Regimental (Native) sergeant-major, succeeded in getting the remainder of the half-battalion out of the fort, and then disarmed the men. The arrival of the Bombay column a few days later assured the safety of the Europeans.

On the 28th the 3rd Haidarabad Cavalry joined,

and at the end of the month, when Colonel Durand, Political Agent, with the column was on the summit of the Simrol pass of the mountain range near Mau, he received letters from Maharajah Holkar and his Ministers to the effect that they were still anxious about the loyalty of their troops, and asking for help. Colonel Durand considered he had not sufficient men to disarm Holkar's troops, which were in separate cantonments, for it was not a time to run any risk, as Dehli still held out against us, Lucknow was in sore straits, Havelock was stoutly opposed, and Bihar was overrun by mutinous Sipahis. Nevertheless, he offered to march the column to Indur direct, but this was not acceptable. Colonel Durand himself preferred to wait for the Governor-General's decision; for while he thought Holkar was responsible for the attack of his troops on the Residency, Captain Hungerford, stationed at Mau, who, when Durand left, had temporarily assumed political charge, felt certain that Holkar was innocent, and Lord Elphinstone supported Hungerford's views. Holkar, moreover, was anxious to tell his story to Sir Robert Hamilton, who had trained him from boyhood, and was about to return to Central India.

COLONEL STUART'S FORCE

Heavy rains kept Rebel and British forces inactive till October, when Firuzshah, a prince of the Dehli Imperial family, who had organised a revolt in Mandesar, 120 miles north-west of Indur, moved, with 15,000 men and 16 guns, southwards from Dhar and Amjhera, which had been previously occupied, to threaten the British line of communications on the road from Mau to Bombay.

Colonel Durand with the Puna column, under

command of Brigadier-General C. S. Stuart, which had been reinforced by 4 companies 86th (2nd Royal Irish Rifles) Regiment, arrived at Dhar on October 22. The garrison of Arabs and Mekranis came out and, assisted by the fire of 3 guns which took post on the hill outside the fort, advanced bravely against the front of the column. The guns were captured by the 25th Bombay Infantry, ably and gallantly led by Major Robertson, and then turned on the rebels; the 86th (2nd Royal Irish Rifles) charged the centre, while the 14th Hussars rode over a flanking party, which regained the fort, but left 40 sabred dead on the ground.

The fortress, built of red granite on a hill 30 feet above and outside the town, was strong. Its trace followed the conformation of the hill, and the walls were 30 feet high, with 12 circular and 2 square towers. When, however, a breach had been made three days later, a storming party on entering found it had been abandoned, the levies having gone to Mehidpur to gain over the Malwa Contingent.

Colonel Stuart's force followed. It had been joined at Dhar by the Haidarabad Contingents, 1st, 2nd, and 4th Cavalry, and 2 battalions of infantry; and Major Orr, with a squadron from each of the 3 regiments, was sent on in pursuit of the rebels. After a march of 72 miles he overtook the rearguard of 450 rebels and 2 guns 12 miles from Mehidpur, from the cantonment of which place they had carried off all the guns, ammunition, and stores in charge of the Malwa Contingent, for the latter had mutinied, driving off the officers, one of whom was killed.

The Rebel rearguard stood at 4 p.m. behind a muddy stream, the right resting on a village, to give the guns and stores time to get away. Orr and his British

officers—Abbott, Clarke, Johnstone, Murray, and Samwell—led their squadrons across the nala and charged the guns. Both sides fought well, but by sunset the rebels were utterly defeated, losing all their 8 guns and the whole of their stores. The 3 squadrons, totalling 340, lost Lieutenant Samwell severely wounded, and nearly 100 Natives killed and wounded.

Colonel Stuart's force had 2 successful engagements near Mandesar, where Firuzshah had initiated the revolt, the result of the second fight on November 24 causing the Shahzada to retreat. The British lost 60 officers and men killed and wounded, but the Arabs and Mekranis were now so disheartened that when a party of them appeared before Partabgarh, a small Rajputana State of 65,000 inhabitants, its chief, who was loyal, calling out his clans, routed the invaders and killed 80 men.

Durand, leaving the Haidarabad Contingent at Mandesar, marched with Stuart's column to Indur and disarmed Holkar's cavalry, now become submissive, after the receipt of the news from Mandesar. The Maharajah, on Durand's demand, disarmed the remaining infantry, 1600 strong, and next day Durand visited Holkar, who undertook to punish the troops who had revolted.

ARRIVAL OF SIR ROBERT HAMILTON

The following day Colonel Durand was relieved by Sir Robert Hamilton, and, in reporting to Lord Canning on the operations carried out by the force, he warmly eulogised the gallantry shown by the troops; he commended especially Major Gall and the 14th Light Dragoons, the Haidarabad Contingent,

under Major Orr, Major Robertson, and the 25th Bombay Infantry, and the Artillery under Captain Woollcombe.

The day after Colonel Durand left for Bombay, Sir Robert Hamilton, for whom Durand had been officiating, arrived from Calcutta. He had returned from England on receipt of the Meerut-Dehli news, and since August had consulted frequently with the Governor-General, at whose request Sir Robert drew up a plan for re-establishing order in Central India. There was no one person in the Empire so qualified to advise on the point, for he was an official of great ability and the widest experience of the Provinces. As Governor-General's Agent, Sir Robert had travelled all over the country; he knew all the chiefs, their strong and weak points, and, as regards the Indur Durbar, he was intimately acquainted with every courtier around Rao Holkar. Sir Robert suggested a column from Madras should assemble at Jabalpur, and march through the eastern part of Bundelkhand, 130 miles to the east of Jhansi, and that the Bombay column starting from Mau should make the Bombay-Agra trunk road secure, capture Jhansi, and then Kalpi. This plan was approved by Sir Colin Campbell.

CHAPTER XIX

SIR HUGH ROSE—CENTRAL INDIA—JHANSI

WITH Sir Robert Hamilton travelled an officer of unbounded courage, indomitable energy and will power. Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, born in 1803, was educated at Berlin, and had joined the army in 1820. In 1837, having been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, he was, while Consul-General in Syria, attached as a Staff officer to the Turkish army operating against the rebellious Pasha of Egypt. When reconnoitring on one occasion Rose led a picket against an Egyptian cavalry advanced guard, and while cutting down the enemy's leader, whom he captured, he was himself wounded in the chest and back.

In 1853, while acting temporarily for Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, who was on leave of absence in England, Sir Hugh, at the personal request of the Sultan, desired the British Admiral to bring the Fleet into Turkish waters. The Admiral declined to do so and was supported by the British Government, but, the refusal being unknown, the effect of the request lessened for a time the pressure Russia was exercising on the Porte. Rose served as Military Attaché with the French army in the Crimea, having two horses shot under him at the battle of Inkerman, and he was strongly recommended by Marshal Canrobert for the Victoria Cross.

Sept. 1857 Sir Hugh Rose, landing in Bombay late in September, was commanding the Puna division when he was ordered to Central India. He joined the 1st Brigade of the Central India Field Force at Mau on December 17, his 2nd Brigade being at Sihor, 120 miles to the north-eastward. While Sir Hugh Rose waited three weeks for the Madras column, under General Whitlock, to leave Jabalpur in order that the march northwards might be simultaneous, Sir Robert Hamilton from Rose's camp re-established order in the neighbouring districts.

The 1st Brigade, commanded by Brigadier C. S. Stuart, marched on January 10, 1858, for Chanderi, a strong fortress in Sindhia's country then held by rebels, and Sir Hugh, leaving Sihor with the 2nd Brigade, a Siege train, and 800 Bhopal levies, on the 16th, arrived in front of Rahatgarh, 25 miles from Sagar, early on January 24, and had made a practicable breach by the 28th, when his troops were attacked by the Rajah of Banpur's levies. Sir Hugh maintained his bombardment, sending the 14th Light Dragoons, 3rd Bombay (Native) Cavalry, and the Haidarabad Infantry to deal with the Rajah's men, who fled. The garrison was so disheartened, that they climbed down nearly precipitous rocks during the night where no foothold seemed to be possible. Nevertheless, all escaped but two or three, who fell and were dashed to pieces.

Jan. 30
1858

On the 30th Sir Hugh with a small force again routed the Banpur Rajah, who had taken up a position near Barodia, 15 miles off. The thick jungle was favourable to defence, and the British casualties were numerous in proportion to the small force employed. Another small expedition resulted in Garhakota, a strong hill-fort 25 miles to the east of Sagar, being

evacuated by its garrison, the mutinous 51st and 52nd Bengal Infantry. It was so formidable that, when 11,000 of our troops attacked it in 1818, no practicable breach had been made, after three weeks' bombardment, and the garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war.

Sir Hugh Rose, having ascertained that General Whitlock had left Jabalpur, marched at 2 a.m. on February 27, and on the following day easily took Barodia. When he had reconnoitred the Mathon Pass, which led directly on Jhansi, he found that its natural strength had been greatly increased by earthworks, and that it was strongly held by Sipahis and local levies. He determined, therefore, to leave Major Scudamore, with a Native force and a detachment 14th Light Dragoons, in front of the pass, and move by Madanpur. This town also is approached from the southward through a gorge, in which the rebels had batteries, while the jungle-covered hills were held on each side by foot-men far in advance of the guns.

Sir Hugh's infantry made a turning movement for 6 miles ere they began to ascend the hills, when they at once came under heavy fire of artillery and infantry. The enemy's troops were forced back, but held a second position so stoutly that the British advance was arrested. Sir Hugh's horse was killed, the gunners sheltered under their guns, and the casualties increased rapidly. Presently the Haidarabad batteries coming up restored the artillery fight, and the 3rd Bombay Europeans (2nd Prince of Wales's Leinster Regiment) and the Haidarabad Infantry were ordered to charge. The enemy fled from before the bayonets into Madanpur, but were shelled out of the town, and pursued for miles by the cavalry.

The rebels now abandoned all their many strong

forts and positions on the line of the rivers Betwa and Bina, except Chanderi, on the former.

Mar. 5
1858

The detachment from the Haidarabad force left by Colonel Stuart at Mandesar had reopened the trunk road up to Guna in advance of the 1st Brigade, and, when overtaken by it, both marched to Khukwasas, 6 miles from Chanderi, on March 5. The road passed between thick jungle, through which 2 companies 86th (2nd Royal Irish Rifles) Regiment marched in skirmishing order unopposed until within a mile of the fort, when from the walls of an enclosure heavy fire was opened. Major Keatinge (General Keatinge, V.C.) and Lieutenant Lewis outran all but a few of the 86th, and, crossing the wall, dropped with them into the enclosure, driving out its defenders. General Stuart, following, occupied the hills to the west of the fort.

Stuart had only 2 companies 86th Regiment, and hearing on the 15th the others were only 28 miles distant sent word that he would postpone the assault till the 16th, to give them time to arrive. When the official letter was received the companies had just completed a march of 15 miles, but started at once, and covered the 28 miles further distance by 10 a.m. on the 16th. Early on the 17th the battalion and the 25th Bombay Native Infantry dashed at the breach with such determination that the garrison dropped from the further parapets, and fled without offering any resistance. An order for the cavalry to be ready to close the north side of the fortress was not received in time, and most of the garrison escaped.

Mar. 1858

On March 20, when Sir Hugh Rose was 14 miles from Jhansi, he and Sir Robert Hamilton received nearly identical despatches from Sir Colin Campbell and Lord Canning informing Sir Hugh that, as General

Whitlock was too far back to be available, he was to march immediately to the relief of the Rajah of Charkari, a loyalist, who was besieged by the rebels under Tantia Topi.

Charkari was 80 miles to the eastward. It was known in camp that the fort was not provisioned, and that, the outworks having been taken, the place must fall before Sir Hugh could reach it. Nevertheless, he felt bound to obey the positive order, unless it was cancelled by subsequent instructions. These he got from Sir Robert Hamilton, and proceeded to attack Jhansi, where the Rani had brutally murdered 70 Christians she had solemnly promised to spare.

THE CITY, AND CITADEL OF JHANSI

Sir Hugh Rose, having been absolved by Sir Robert Hamilton from executing Sir Colin Campbell's orders to proceed to the relief of the Rajah of Charkari, sent forward on March 20 cavalry detachments to invest Jhansi on the north side. They sabred 100 Bundelas, the dominant tribe of Bundelkhand, as they were about to enter the city to reinforce the garrison. Sir Hugh moved at 2 a.m. on the 21st on Jhansi, and at 9 a.m. halted his troops to the south of the ruined cantonments, 3000 yards from the city, he himself spending six hours in a thorough reconnaissance of the enemy's very formidable position.

Mar. 21
1858

The city, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference, containing 30,000 inhabitants, defended by 35 cannon, was enclosed by massive walls from 18 feet to 30 feet high, from 6 feet to 12 feet thick, and batteries in protruding bastions gave flanking fire along the face of the walls. Inside the city was a very strong fort, built on a high rock, and surrounded by houses on

three sides; on towers at its angles were cannon, which commanded all the surrounding country. The fort's lofty walls of granite were from 16 feet to 20 feet thick; outworks, armed with guns, protected the main body of the place, and all walls were loopholed for direct and flanking fire, in some places with 5 tiers. The garrison of 1500 mutinous Sipahis and 10,000 Bundelkhand troops had cleared the country around of supplies, and had burnt down the grass. The Rani took an active part in the defence, employing women and children as labourers in strengthening the position. Sir Hugh Rose invested the city on the 22nd, and bombarded it continually until it was captured. The damage done by the shell fire, which was accurate, would have demoralised a less courageous garrison. On the opening day of the siege a long row of hayricks in the south side of the city were set on fire by mortar shells, and destroyed the greater part of that quarter.

On the tenth day of the investment Tantia Topi, in command of 22,000 men with 28 guns, arrived in the neighbourhood to raise the siege. After his defeat by Sir Colin Campbell at Cawnpur he had fled to Kalpi, where he remained until he was sent with 900 men by Rao Sahib, the Nana's nephew, to capture Charkari, the fort of the Rajah loyal to the East India Company mentioned above. He succeeded on the 11th day, obtaining £30,000 and 24 guns. Then, reinforced by 21,000 troops, including the Gwalior Contingent and levies of the Rajahs of Banpur and of Shahgarh, with 28 guns, he was ordered to raise the siege of Jhansi.

At sunset on March 31 Tantia's outposts were within conversational distance of the pickets of a covering force of 500 Europeans and 1000 Natives, which Sir Hugh

Rose had separated from the besieging troops, and the loyal Natives were assured by the rebels that they would "be sent to hell" next day. Sir Hugh had intended to fight on April 1, but so did Tantia, and at 4 a.m. the British pickets were driven in, and Tantia's artillery opened fire at 500 yards' range, having in support large bodies of infantry. These, overlapping both British flanks, would soon have reached the besiegers' batteries but for the general's determined counter attack. He had directed half the infantry of the covering force, under Brigadier-General C. S. Stuart, to make a wide turning movement on the British left, keeping the mounted troops, and the details drawn from the other brigade under his personal command. When he saw they were about to be surrounded he sent two squadrons 14th Light Dragoons and a horse battery to attack the rebels' right column; he personally led one squadron and 2 guns to assail the left column, and left orders that the details, 3rd Bombay Europeans (2nd Prince of Wales's Leinster Regiment) and 24th Bombay Native Infantry, were to charge the enemy's centre as soon as the attacks on the flanks were fully developed.

All three squadrons rode home, some charging four times, for the rebels, formed in bodies resembling squares, resisted stoutly. Sir Hugh led well in front of his right attack, and when the squadron came into collision with the enemy's left, the infantry, who had been until then lying down, rose, fired one volley, and charged the enemy's centre. It broke up and fled in tumultuous disorder before the three practically simultaneous counter attacks, abandoning several guns.

While the Rebel first line was running back Tantia's troops experienced another disaster. Brigadier Stuart,

April 1
1858

in his wide turning movement, came on the flank of a large body of the enemy marching to outflank Sir Hugh Rose's left. Stuart, with the 86th (2nd Royal Irish Rifles) Regiment and 25th Bombay Native Infantry, attacked at once, and so vigorously that the rebels fled, leaving several cannon; and thus it happened that Tantia Topi, who was in position with his second line on rising ground 2 miles farther back, saw at one time his front line and flanking column running at speed towards him. In order to save the second line of troops and its guns, he ordered the jungle to be set on fire, and a retreat across the Betwa River to be carried out. The Rebel cavalry and infantry retired, followed by the guns, which were ably manœuvred and gallantly served. The British cavalry and artillery, however, galloped through the burning grass, and, pursuing over the river, broke up Tantia's force, capturing all his guns. The Rebel chief reached Kalpi, 100 miles to the north-east, with only 200 Sipahis; but, with the exception of 1500, nearly all mutineers, who were left dead on the battlefield, most of the other troops reassembled there later.

THE ASSAULT OF JHANSI

Continuous fire at an increased rate was maintained by the besiegers' guns during the action of April 1; and the fire was accompanied by triumphant shouts of the garrison, which were continued till Tantia Topi's troops fled.

The bombardment having demolished a piece of the walls, the rebels intrenched the opening with a double row of palisades. These were destroyed by red-hot shot; and it having been reported on April 2 that a practicable breach had been made, at daylight

on the 3rd a false attack was carried out on the western wall of the city by a small detachment under Major Gall, 14th Light Dragoons. This was the signal for the real assaults. The right attack was composed of the 3rd Bombay Europeans (2nd Prince of Wales's Leinster Regiment), detachments of Madras and Bombay Sappers, and some Haidarabad Contingent Infantry. It was divided into 2 columns, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Liddell, and Captain Robinson, 3rd Bombay Europeans, the troops being ordered to escalate the walls, near the Urcha gate; the reserve was under Brigadier C. S. Stuart, 14th Light Dragoons. April 3 1858

When the noise of Major Gall's guns was heard the stormers, 3rd Europeans, and ladder parties of Native Sappers, moved forward. As they got on the road, 200 yards from the gateway, the enemy's alarm bugles sounded, and a storm of missiles of all descriptions played on the column. Nevertheless, the carriers advanced and planted the ladders in three places. The intensity of the defenders' fire now increased, and from the lofty walls there came cannon-balls, bullets, stinkpots, infernal machines, boulders of stones, and trunks of trees. The stormers, wavering, sheltered under cover; nevertheless, the Native Sappers, animated by their heroic officers, held the ladders in position.

Major Boileau, Madras Engineers, who had gone back to report the check, returned after a short time with another company, 3rd Europeans, and the stormers then ran to the ladders and ascended. Some of the ladders were too short, and 3 broke under the weight of the men. Lieutenant Dick, Bombay Engineers, was the first man up, and, fighting against many rebels, cheered on the 3rd Europeans. Some of them responded. A private soldier, as he bent

forward on quitting the upper rung of another ladder, was seized by a rebel waiting on the summit of the wall, who held the man's head, and with a slicing blow severed his neck, and the men who were following him up had to press closely against the ladder to avoid being swept down by the falling body as it dropped to the ground. The next stormer went on, however, in spite of the ghastly descent of his comrade's body; but the rebels were in force, and the reinforcing of the gallant men on the summit of the wall was necessarily slow. Lieutenant Meiklejohn, Bombay Engineers, who had ascended by another ladder just after his brother officer, jumping down into a crowd of the defenders, was literally cut to pieces. Lieutenant Bonus, another brother officer, mounted on a third ladder, but was knocked down again, struck in the face by a log of wood. Lieutenant Dick at the same moment, pierced by bayonets and bullets, fell to the ground a dying man. Lieutenant Fox, Madras Engineers, who, it was said, slew in personal combat 8 of the enemy in the pursuit across the Betwa two days previously, was shot through the neck. Although the men were now ascending by 8 ladders, the moment was critical, for the garrison was fighting desperately, when a gallant charge executed by Captain Brockman, 86th (2nd Royal Irish Rifles) Regiment, coming from the British left attack, on the flank and rear of the defenders of the wall decided the struggle at that point.

When the sound of Major Gall's guns was heard the left attack formed in two portions had moved forward to the assault. It was composed of a detachment Royal Engineers, the 86th (2nd Royal Irish Rifles) Regiment, and 25th Bombay Native Infantry. The left half, under Colonel Lowth, 86th Regiment, was to assault the breach; the right, under Major

Stuart, 86th, to escalate the Rocket Tower, and a curtain, lower than the average height of the wall, to the right of the tower. The reserve was under Brigadier C. S. Stuart.

The stormers, under Lieutenant Jerome (later Colonel, V.C.), supported by companies under Captains Darby and Brockman, ran determinedly up the breach, driving back its defenders. Major Stuart's party, planting the ladders against the walls, forced its way in, the first man up the ladders being Lieutenant Dartnell (Major-General Sir John Dartnell, K.C.B., C.M.G., who distinguished himself in South Africa in 1899). When the order to assault was given, Dartnell ran ahead of the Light Company, and ascended the only available ladder, for the rebels had overturned or smashed the others. The ladder did not quite reach the top of the wall, at that place 30 feet high, and the upper rungs, which had been damaged, gave way under Dartnell's weight. In the language of a newspaper correspondent at the time, "An officer (name unknown), a mere boy, as the ladder broke, sprang at the battlement, clutched it, and, active as a cat, obtained a footing on the wall." Dartnell's brother officers, Lieutenants Fowler and Sewell, and Lieutenant (later Major-General, C.B.) Webber, Royal Engineers, followed up the broken ladder; but Dartnell, never looking back, dropped from the top of the wall down into a bastion, alighting in the midst of astonished Bundelas, who crowded so closely around him that they could not at once hit him without injuring each other. Dartnell fought hard for his life, having no apprehension of hurting his friends. They, indeed, were following as quickly as the swaying, shaky ladders permitted, but before they could reach him Dartnell was felled to the ground, wounded in five places. A

April 1
1858

Bundela sliced 7 inches into Dartnell's upper left arm, cutting nearly to the bone, another slashed his forearm deeply, and a third foeman nearly severed the subaltern's left hand from the wrist. Then a matchlock-man fired against Dartnell's body, but the bullet, striking the centre-plate of the waist-belt, was deflected, and merely grazed the abdomen. A fifth antagonist, cutting open the youth's right arm, knocked him helpless under foot of the crowd, who were striving to finish their bloody work, when Lieutenant Fowler shot the nearest foes, and the other officers, followed by the Light Company of the 86th Regiment, dropped from the wall's summit into the fray, and saved his life.

April 3
1858

Colonel Lowth, having secured the breach, sent Captain Brockman to aid the right attack. Brockman led gallantly, and, falling on the flank and rear of the garrison opposing the 3rd Bombay Europeans, facilitated Colonel Liddell's task; then his men, jumping down, and joining the 86th, drove off the defenders of the walls. Colonel Lowth now led up to the palace, which had been prepared for defence. The houses on each side of the street approaching it had been fired, and many soldiers were severely burnt by the scorching flames. The courtyard was surrounded by rooms, in all of which sanguinary struggles were continued until the last rebel fell. The handsome, strongly built Bundelas resisted desperately. When a room off the palace stables caught fire some of the Rani's bodyguard held it till they were seriously burnt, and then rushing out, with heads protected by their shields, they fiercely sought death in hand-to-hand combat. A retainer of the queen, when he saw his end was near, fired a gunpowder train, hoping to blow up himself and his wife. They were only scorched, so falling on her with his sword, he tried to kill her,

and took his own life. Two other rebels with a woman, when attacked, threw her down a deep well, and ended their lives by jumping after her. Two hours later, when there were none of the enemy alive in the palace, 35 of the Rani's bodyguard still held the stables. The 86th (2nd Royal Irish Rifles) Regiment and the 3rd Bombay Europeans charged into them, and a savage contest ensued, 12 British soldiers being killed, or terribly wounded by sword cuts, before the 35 were exterminated.

Just then 400 rebels tried to break out on the west side; but, turned by Major Gall's force, they took up a position on a hill, where they were surrounded by cavalry. A detachment of the 24th Bombay Infantry attacked the position with great determination, and killed all the 400 except 20, who climbed up to a steep place on the top of the hill and there blew themselves up. In a suburb 1500 rebels fought bravely for some time, but, after losing 300 men, managed to shelter under the fort.

In the palace was found and hoisted a Union Jack of silk, given by Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General, to the grandfather of the Rani's deceased husband as a reward for his fidelity.

Sir Hugh Rose was arranging an attack on the fort, but during the night of April 4-5 the Rani rode off to Kalpi, where she arrived simultaneously with Tantia Topi, who had started three days earlier from the Betwa River. The Rani was nearly caught by Lieutenant Dowker, Haidarabad Contingent Cavalry, 21 miles from Jhansi, being surprised at breakfast. She fled, but Dowker, after killing 40 of her bodyguard, was wounded just as he was overtaking her, when she had but 4 attendants. On the morning of the 5th Lieutenant Baigrie, 3rd Bombay Europeans, found the

fort was empty. Sir Hugh Rose's casualties were 36 officers, 307 others killed and wounded. The rebels lost over 5000 men. One thousand bodies were burnt or buried in the streets of Jhansi. It was fortunate the Rani evacuated the fort, for on the south side, which appeared most favourable for breaching operations, there was inside the curtain a massive wall, 16 feet thick, and inside the wall a deep tank hewn out of solid rock.

AFTER THE CAPTURE OF JHANSI

Sir Hugh Rose was occupied for nearly three weeks in re-establishing order in and provisioning Jhansi. The Rani's fighting men probably always had sufficient, but the wretched inhabitants were on the verge of absolute starvation. During the three weeks' halt, while the town was occupied, the British soldiers who had fought so fiercely in its assault were frequently seen sharing their rations with little black children whose sunken features and attenuated bodies showed plainly what they had suffered.

The 100 miles of country between the city and Kalpi on the Jamnah was held by rebels, mainly local levies in small forts, which were generally well placed in commanding positions. Major Gall, 14th Light Dragoons, with a small force 3rd Bombay Europeans (2nd Prince of Wales's Leinster Regiment) and 14th Light Dragoons, was sent on April 22 to protect the left flank of the troops, about to move on Kalpi; and Major Orr, with the Haidarabad Contingent, endeavoured to keep the troops of the Rajahs of Banpur and Shahgarh from recrossing the Betwa to the southward. He took a cannon from them; but they were assisted by the Rajah of Jigni with food and

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transport, and thus eluded Orr, who rejoined Sir Hugh Rose, who in the meantime had moved forward.

Tantia Topi, by order of the Rao Sahib, caused nearly all the Bundelkhand forts to be abandoned, and their garrisons assembled at Kunch, 40 miles to the north-east of Kalpi, where a position covered by a thick wall, with massive temples at intervals, standing in groves and gardens, had been strengthened by intrenchments, and was held by mutinous Bengal regiments, the Gwalior Contingent, and local levies. A fort near the village of Lohari, 10 miles south of Kunch, was assaulted and captured on May 5 by Major Gall's detachment, of which 2 officers and some men fell; but not a man of the garrison escaped.

On the 6th Sir Hugh Rose marched 14 miles, May 1858 passing round Kunch, and approaching it on the north side near the Kalpi road. The 25th Bombay Infantry, in skirmishing order, supported by Horse artillery and cavalry, cleared the groves and temples by a determined advance, while the 86th Regiment (2nd Royal Irish Rifles) made a wide movement to the left, driving back the rebels; and then, circling round to the right, passed through the northern part of the town, capturing the fort. The 2nd Brigade had a stubborn fight in cultivated fields to the south of the town, where the rebels held their ground until the 86th and 25th Bombay Infantry, approaching the Kalpi road from the north side of the town, obliged Tantia Topi's troops to retire.

When Sir Hugh Rose emerged from Kunch and re-formed for attack, the rebels were falling back, the mutinous 52nd Bengal Infantry covering the retreat in a long, thick skirmishing line. The heat was intense, many of the Europeans succumbed, and even the Sipahis were struck down by the burning sun.

Sir Hugh Rose halted his infantry, and with the mounted troops pressed on eagerly in pursuit, although he fell insensible from the saddle three times, recovering only after quantities of water had been poured over his head. The mutinous Sipahis behaved grandly, covering the retirement by successive lines as steadily as if they were on an instructional parade. They were charged with equal courage and determination by Captain Prettijohn's squadron 14th Light Dragoons, but they retained their orderly retirement until the rebel horsemen had galloped away, all the guns had been captured, and the rearguard 52nd Bengal Native Infantry had been practically destroyed. Then the retreat along the Kalpi road became a flight in confused masses, which must have been utterly destroyed but for the complete exhaustion of the pursuing cavalry, whose horses, after sixteen hours' continuous work without being watered, could not be goaded into a trot.

As the sun went down the rebels were left unmolested, and the mounted troops returned to Kunch. The British loss was only 3 officers and 59 killed and wounded, but a great number died of sunstroke. Between 500 and 600 rebels fell, and Tantia, who fled early in the action, lost 9 guns, all his ammunition, and stores. He was reviled for his cowardice, and the infantry generally were bitterly incensed against the horsemen who early in the fight had sought safety in flight. For some days, although the fact was unknown to the British troops, Kalpi was nearly denuded of fighting men.

THE ADVANCE ON KALPI

On May 15, Sir Hugh Rose, after a painful march, in which his force suffered greatly from the terrible

heat, reached Gulauli on the right bank of the Jamnah, 6 miles east, or down stream, of Kalpi. The direct approach to the town was barred by five lines of fortifications, which he thus turned. Many soldiers died on the march, and the hospitals were crowded with sunstroke patients. That this suffering was known to the rebels is clear from an intercepted order directing that "no attacks should be made before 10 a.m., when numbers of the British would die, or be sent to hospital." May 1858

General Whitlock, who had arrived at Jabalpur on February 6, moving very slowly, did not enter Bundelkhand with his 1st Brigade till the end of March, and on April 19 reached Bandah, the capital of the State, the Nawab of which had proclaimed himself as an independent Ruler. He was driven from his position outside the town after a desultory fight, which, though it lasted seven hours, caused in the British force a loss of only 4 officers and 34 men, and to the rebels about 500 and 17 guns. The Nawab abandoning his palace, filled with objects of great value, marched on Kalpi with 2000 cavalry, and General Whitlock remained at Bandah, where his 2nd Brigade joined him on May 27.

When the Nawab arrived at Kalpi with his 2000 horsemen, some cannon, and a number of local levies, he was joined by most of the mutinous Sipahis, who were still near the banks of the Jamnah, and the Bundelkhand soldiers of the Rani of Jhansi. The fort of Kalpi was not in itself strong, but was so by its position, being built on a nearly precipitous rock on the right or south bank of the Jamnah. On the west, or opposite side of the town, were five lines of trenches, which were carried back on the flanks until they met deep ravines which ran down from the plain to

the river, impassable for mounted troops. On the plain, where these ravines began, there were breastworks; behind them were 84 temples, solidly built and enclosed by massive walls. Behind the temples was the town, and between it and the fort there was another ravine.

Sir Hugh Rose had marched to Gulauli to turn the front of the rebel intrenchments, and also to close on a detachment from Cawnpur under Colonel Maxwell, who with the 88th (2nd Connaught Rangers) Regiment and some siege guns, was on the bank opposite to Gulauli, and on the 20th sent over 2 companies of that battalion and 120 Sikhs to join Sir Hugh's camp. It extended from a ravine, where it joined the Jamnah on the right, nearly up to the Kalpi-Bandah road on the left.

The rebels engaged the British outposts daily from the 16th to the 20th, when a mortar battery constructed on the right front of the British position bombarded the town, which was also shelled next day from Colonel Maxwell's camp on the northern bank of the Jamnah.

May 1858 Information was received of an intended attack on the 22nd, and at 10 a.m. that forenoon, when a suffocating hot wind made the heat almost unbearable, the rebels opened fire with several batteries in their centre. At the same time heavy columns of infantry, accompanied by cavalry and horse artillery, led by the Rao Sahib and the Bandah Nawab, pressed home an attack on the British left near the Kalpi-Bandah road. The rebels' guns were temporarily silenced, but the attack on the left was maintained. Many British soldiers were rendered insensible by the sun; the grooves of the Enfield rifles, clogged with constant use and imperfect cleaning, could not be readily reloaded; and thus, when from the ravines in the centre and

on the right of the British position a determined attack by the rebels was driven home on the 3rd Bombay Europeans (2nd Prince of Wales's Leinster) Regiment and the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, the men, extended in a long line of skirmishers, though fighting bravely, were gradually pushed back by overwhelming numbers, and the enemy came within 20 yards of tents crowded with soldiers lying unconscious from sunstroke. The rebels got close up also to the batteries, and Brigadier C. S. Stuart, dismounting, stood alongside the guns, and called on the gunners to die with them. At that critical moment, for unless assisted the thin British line must have been pierced, Sir Hugh Rose appeared with a Camel Corps, which had crossed the Jamnah that morning. Trotting them up at full speed, he dismounted the riflemen, and himself led them "at the double" on the advancing foe. They stood startled for a minute, and then as the whole British thin line ran at them they fled back into the ravines. The right fell back at the same moment, and Sir Hugh urging on the pursuit, the retreat of numbers of the Sipahis on Kalpi was intercepted. The British Horse batteries, following up the Rao Sahib's column with enfilading fire, inflicted heavy losses on the disheartened enemy. A company of the Camel Corps and a detachment of the 86th (2nd Royal Irish Rifles) Regiment headed a body of fugitives ten times their own strength on the bank of the Jamnah, who half an hour previously had been moving intrepidly to the attack, now a helpless mob, into the ravines; some were shot down, others were driven into the river, where they perished.

The rebels who reached the town went on to the fort, but shells from the mortar batteries on the northern bank of the river rendered the ground near

it untenable, and they hurried away during the night.

Before daylight on the 23rd Sir Hugh Rose led half the troops on the town by the Bandah-Kalpi road, while General Stuart passed through the ravines on the river bank. After concentration, they were about to assault, when it was ascertained the enemy had fled. Major Gall, 14th Light Dragoons, and the mounted troops Haidarabad Contingent, pursued, capturing all the guns, ammunition, and stores, and killing vast numbers of the enemy, many of whom threw away their arms and clothing to facilitate their escape. In Kalpi were found foundries for casting shot and shell, 60,000 lb. of powder, and an enormous number of projectiles. The British troops rested till 5 p.m., and then encamped outside the town, and next day celebrated the Queen's Birthday on a parade arranged on lines similar to the spectacle which annually delights Londoners in St. James's Park.

The troops required rest; all were suffering from overwork. Colonel Wetherall, the chief Staff officer, was delirious from fever. The gallant Chief had been twice again incapacitated by sunstroke since the pursuit from Kunch, on May 6. The soldiers had struggled on under burning sun, often till they dropped, in many cases never to rise again, in order to win a commendatory word from this indomitable leader who never spared himself or them in the fight, but when it was over never failed to visit the sick and wounded, and to see the duty soldiers were rationed, ere he himself sat down to meals. Sir Hugh Rose personally conducted every reconnaissance made during a march of 1000 miles, in the hottest period of an abnormally hot season. He planned every battle,

generally led the culminating attack which decided the victory, and was ever foremost in the ensuing pursuit, during the five months' campaign, which resulted in the capture of numberless strong forts and of 100 cannon. No man of his force ever left the ranks for plunder; many died in trying to retain their places when they had overtaxed their hearts. They were terrible to their foes, but, as Sir Hugh Rose wrote in an eloquent farewell order, he had seen his soldiers in the excitement of a fight stop to place Native children in safety. These soldiers were never once beaten, though in nearly every action they fought against numbers almost incredibly greater, and notably outside Jhansi, where 500 Britons and 1000 loyal Natives defeated 22,000 rebels.

Sir Hugh Rose insisted on the strictest discipline, and, as he recorded, it was discipline and courage which enabled his small forces to march triumphantly from the western ghats, across Central India, to the banks of the Jamnah.

CHAPTER XX

OPERATIONS NEAR GWALIAR—DEATH OF THE RANI—MAN SINGH OF NARWAR—MAJOR ROBERTSON

THE operations briefly described in the previous chapter had apparently disposed so effectually of the rebellious forces in Central India, that Sir Colin Campbell wrote to Sir Robert Hamilton regarding the distribution of the troops, who, under the inspiring example of Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn), had shown the endurance and undaunted courage of the British soldier at his best. Sir Hugh Rose had been invalided, and was leaving for a cooler climate, when on June 4 he received information which induced him to resume command.

During the operations ending in the capture of Kalpi, Tantia Topi was in hiding with his parents near Jalaur, a village of that district, but a few days later he joined the Rao Sahib, who, with the Rani of Jhansi and the Banda Nawab, had fled from Kalpi to Gopalgur, a village 50 miles south-west of Gwalior. There it was resolved, on the suggestion, as it was commonly believed, of the Rani, to march on Gwalior and oust Sindhia, whose loyalty to the British Government had rendered him unpopular at his capital. Bold as was the scheme, it was the only one offering fair chances of success, for British forces were closing in on the rebels from the

east, south, and west. Late on May 30, 4000 horse-
men, 7000 infantry, with 12 guns, under Tantia Topi
and the Rani of Jhansi, occupied the Morar canton-
ment, 3 miles to the north of Gwalior. May 30
1858

At dawn on June 1 Sindhia drew up his troops, 2300 horsemen, including 600 of his bodyguard, 6000 foot-men, and 8 guns, 2 miles to the east of Morar, and awaited the attack. When the rebels advanced in lines of skirmishers, Sindhia's guns opened fire, on which the skirmishers opened outwards to both flanks; and in the interval 2000 horsemen, coming on with irresistible force, captured the guns. Then all Sindhia's troops except the bodyguard went over to the rebels, and attacked the bodyguard, with whom rode the Maharajah. Some of his escort fought with grand courage in defence of their Prince, but eventually Sindhia, accompanied by a few of his personal adherents, fled as fast as their horses could go to Agra. Tantia Topi took charge of the fortress; the Rani exercised the command of the troops at Morar; the Rao Sahib became Governor of the city; the Nana was proclaimed as Peshwa; and the rebellious rajahs in Bundelkhand were directed to join the new Government at Gwalior.

Sir Hugh Rose had sent on May 25 a column of Native troops under Colonel Robertson to follow the track of the rebels who had fled from Kalpi, and learning on June 1 that they were moving on the Gwalior road, he sent Brigadier-General Stuart, with the remainder of his brigade, to join Robertson. Sir Hugh left a small garrison to hold Kalpi, and on June 6, with a Horse battery and 2 squadrons, started for Gwalior. The heat was intense, 130 degrees in the shade, but on June 16 he was within 5 miles of Morar. The troops had been marching for many

hours, and the sun was high up before Sir Hugh had reconnoitred the enemy's position ; but the importance of securing the cantonment buildings before they were burnt by the rebels made him resolve to go on at once.

June 16
1858

The Haidarabad Contingent were some marches down country on their return to the Nizam's country when the news of the capture of Gwalior by the rebels reached them, but the men had all begged that they might go back and serve under Sir Hugh Rose. He now sent them under Major Abbott round by the north side of the cantonment, and they turned the left flank of the rebels, the men of which were eventually nearly destroyed in the pursuit by 2 squadrons 14th Light (Hussars) Dragoons. Sir Hugh moved the 71st Highland Light Infantry and 86th (2nd Royal Irish Rifles) towards the rebels' left flank under cover of a cannonade, and then, attacking with great decision, broke the enemy, driving them through the cantonments. The mutineers held a village and the bank of a dry nala beyond it, and fought hand-to-hand with the British infantry, until the dead lay heaped in the bed of the ravine. In the struggle Lieutenant Neave, 71st Highland Light Infantry, fell while gallantly leading his company, and Lieutenant Rose, Bombay Native Infantry, showed remarkable courage in personal combats.

June 17

Next morning, at 7.30, a Rajputana field force under Brigadier-General Smith, composed of 2 squadrons 1st Bombay Lancers, a battery Bombay Horse Artillery, 95th (2nd Sherwood Foresters) Regiment, and 10th Bombay Native Infantry, which had been ordered up by Sir Hugh Rose, reached Kotah-ki-Serai, 5 miles from Gwalior, where the enemy stood in a strong position. The ground was much broken, but Smith's horse battery soon drove

off the enemy's guns, and then Colonel Raines led the 95th, covered by skirmishers, across the broken ground.

When they were attacking an intrenchment the delay in crossing a water cut 4 feet deep enabled the rebels to withdraw their troops. While the Brigadier was following them another body attacked the baggage, of which Smith's troops had an unusual amount. The general, however, detached a small force to protect it, and pushed on towards Gwalior, passing through a defile in which he encountered considerable opposition. When he emerged from it, leaving the 95th to hold the outlet, he ordered the cavalry to advance. A squadron 8th Hussars, led by Captains Hicks and Heneage, went headlong with such determination into the enemy's ranks that both Foot and Horse fled, abandoning 2 guns. Alone, in a man's dress and riding astride, the Rani faced the oncoming squadron, until her horse wheeled round, and in spite of her efforts followed its companions. It stumbled, and fell in crossing the canal near Morar, and a Hussar cut down what seemed to him to be a big man, but who was, although a woman, the bravest and most implacable of our foes.

The rebels held the far side of the canal, and General Smith's force was so exhausted as to be incapable of further offensive action. The men of the squadron 8th Hussars could scarcely sit on their horses, for the heat was intense, and the troops were therefore withdrawn to the hills overlooking the defile, through which they had advanced. Sir Hugh Rose sent over from Morar a squadron and a half of the 14th Light Dragoons, 4 guns, and the 25th Bombay Native Infantry to reinforce General Smith, whose position was insecure, and next day the other brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General (later Field-Marshal Lord, G.C.B.) Napier, having arrived from Kalpi, Sir Hugh left him

with a small force to hold Morar, and marched in the afternoon to join General Smith. The infantry suffered greatly, over 100 men 86th (2nd Royal Irish Rifles) Regiment being struck down by the sun; but Sir Hugh marched on until he could bivouac in touch with General Smith's troops.

THE ATTACK ON GWALIAR

Next morning, June 19, when the general reconnoitred the enemy's position and examined the ground on which his troops and General Smith's brigade stood, he decided to attack at once, and thus forestall the rebels, who, as Sir Robert Hamilton had learnt, were about to advance. Sir Hugh sent Brigadier Stuart with the 86th (2nd Royal Irish Rifles) supported by the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, to cross the canal, ascend the hills on the far side, and attack the enemy's left flank. He then ordered the 95th (2nd Sherwood Foresters) Regiment, supported by the 10th Bombay Native Infantry, to attack some rebels in an intrenched position on a shoulder of the hills.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lowth led the 86th (2nd Royal Irish Rifles) Regiment against the enemy's left flank. The rebels closed in to the battery on their right, and Captain Brockman charged into it with the same dash he had shown when at the head of his company he led through the breach in the wall of Jhansi. He captured 3 guns in the battery and quickly opened fire with one of them on the retreating enemy. Lieutenant Roome, commanding the 10th Bombay Native Infantry, when supporting the 95th (2nd Sherwood Foresters) Regiment, came under fire of guns posted on a height on the enemy's extreme left. Roome, an excellent officer, quickly changed his

line of direction to the right, and his men attacked with determination and captured the position, securing 2 guns on the hill and 3 mortars on the plain below.

Sir Hugh Rose, now descending from the high ground with his troops, swept the rebels from the plain. He sent orders to Brigadier-General Smith to follow up the enemy, which he did until nightfall, and directed Brigadier-General Napier to take on in pursuit all the details which had been left to hold the cantonment of Morar. That night Sir Hugh slept in Sindhia's Palace. He had, with a loss of 87 men killed and wounded, chiefly in the 71st Highland Light Infantry, 86th (2nd Royal Irish Rifles) Regiment, the 10th, and 25th Bombay Native Infantry, captured 27 guns, and regained Gwalior for our staunch ally the Maharajah.

The fort which overlooked the city was, however, still held by rebels, who had fired all day, though without much effect, on the British troops. It is built on a nearly precipitous rock, which rises 300 feet above the plain; it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and 300 yards broad at the widest place on the summit, and appeared to be impregnable.

Early on the 20th Lieutenant Rose, 25th Bombay Native Infantry, who had distinguished himself in the hand-to-hand fighting at the nala on the 19th, was in a police-station near the main gateway of the fort, where he had spent the night with a picket furnished by his battalion. Another and adjoining post was commanded by a brother officer, Lieutenant Waller, to whom Rose suggested that, as the citadel guns were still firing, they should try and capture the stronghold. They engaged a blacksmith, who willingly accompanied them, and the two pickets crept up to the main gate, which the smith forced open, as he did five others in succession, unseen and unheard in

June 20
1858

the noise of the guns above them. Beyond the sixth iron gate under an archway was a gun which opened fire on the stormers, but, headed by Rose and Waller, they ran on, and fought furiously with the garrison. Both officers evinced remarkable courage; Rose was always in front, and, after many assailants and defenders had fallen in the hand-to-hand struggle, he was shot from behind a wall by a mutineer as he was leading his men in a last and successful charge. As he fell the Sipahi, rushing out, slashed him twice with a sword, when Waller, running up, killed the mutineer, but too late to save the heroic Rose, of whom Sir Hugh Rose wrote: "He closed his early career by taking the fort of Gwalior by force of arms."

June 20
1858

Brigadier-General Robert Napier left Morar at 9 a.m. on June 20 with Lightfoot's battery of artillery, a half-squadron 14th Light Dragoons under Major Prettijohn, and 500 Native cavalry, mainly Haidarabad Contingent, under Major Abbott. After he had started Sir Hugh Rose sent an order for him not to attack the rebels, as he had learnt that they were in greater force than he had understood when he ordered the hot pursuit; and a reinforcement of 2 guns, half a squadron 14th Light Dragoons, and 2 squadrons Meade's Horse, under command of Major Meade, an energetic officer, marched at 3 p.m., overtaking Napier at 3 a.m. in bivouac near Jaura Alipur, 35 miles from Gwalior. The messenger did not, however, overtake Napier until after his successful action.

At 7 a.m. on June 21 the British force came in sight of 7000 rebels. The right of their first line, composed of infantry, with a field battery drawn by oxen, rested on Jaura Alipur; the second line consisted of cavalry and horse artillery. Napier concealed his horsemen behind a slight eminence, and sent word back to

Meade, who was resting his horses, to hasten up. At 8 a.m., before he arrived, Napier noticed the rebels were about to retire, so ordered Lightfoot to move at the gallop, escorted by a squadron Haidarabad Contingent, towards the enemy's left flank, and to unlimber when he could enfilade it at 500 yards range. Lightfoot obeyed these orders exactly, and after firing 2 rounds galloped on to 9 guns, which had been in action near a clump of trees, but which the enemy were abandoning. General Napier, now placing himself in front of his 600 cavalry, ordered a charge, and with great determination they hurtled into the 7000 rebels, who, imagining there was a large force behind the audacious horsemen, broke up and fled, throwing away muskets and clothing to shelter in the adjoining villages and pretend to be peasants. For two hours the pursuit was pressed, and from 300 to 400 of the enemy were killed, 25 guns being captured, with all Tantia's ammunition and stores. Napier followed for 30 miles, and then returned to Gwalior with the captured ordnance.

TANTIA TOPI

When Sir Hugh Rose left Central India on June 29 June 1858 to assume command of the Bombay army, handing over the troops he had so often led to victory to Napier, no one could have then anticipated that Tantia Topi's movements would afford active employment for many soldiers until the following April. That clever, unscrupulous, but cowardly Maratha left Gwalior and Jaura Alipur with Sindhia's treasure chests a day before his associates were defeated by Sir Hugh Rose and General Napier respectively. So long as he had money and issued orders for the Rao Sahib as the representative of Nana the Peshwa he exerted much influence

amongst the 10 millions of Hindus in Central India, divided up into 148 feudal States, and petty chiefships.

Bhopal and Jaora were Muhammadan, and, moreover, really loyal to the British Government, but Sindhia was the only Hindu chief who exerted himself actively on the British side, and it was mainly owing to his attitude that the Revolt was confined to Hindustan. Tantia could always reckon on obtaining horses and supplies while north of the Narbada, and recruited large numbers of Bundelas, excellent fighting men, while he could pay them. Indeed it may be truly said all the Hindu minor States in Central India assisted the rebels as far as they could without outwardly disobeying the paramount Power. When Tantia had outmarched General Napier's force, he made for Bharatpur; but, learning troops were waiting for him there, he turned westwards towards Jaipur, where, however, he was forestalled by General Roberts, who had marched up rapidly from Nasirabad. Tantia then marched due south for Tonk. The Nawab shut himself up in the citadel at the end of June with some faithful followers, but those he left below handed over 4 guns to the Maratha, who, pursued by mounted troops under Major Holmes and General Roberts with infantry, marched rapidly to Indragarh on the Chambal. The river being in flood, Tantia was unable to cross; so he made for Bundi, but the gates being shut against him, he went on to Sanganir on the Nimach-Nasirabad road. Attacked, and driven back by General Roberts, Tantia was again overtaken by him on the 13th August at Kankroli in Udaipur, and ordered a retreat, but his foot-men, worn out by long marches, declined to move; and at 7 a.m. on the 14th General Roberts attacked him in position on the Banas River, capturing the 4 guns he had annexed at Tonk, and pursuing his

followers for 2 miles. Roberts now handed over the chase to Colonel Parke, 72nd (1st Seaforth) Highlanders, but, misled by local authorities, who alleged no one could cross the Chambal, he eventually reached the river bank only in time to see the enemy move off on the far side.

Tantia moved southwards, and avoided Gwalior in his marches and counter-marches, for the Maharajah had re-entered his capital with Sir Hugh Rose, and his rebellious subjects, who had gone off with Tantia, were unwilling to venture within striking distance of the Maharajah and of the British garrison at Morar.

There was, however, a curious revolt against Sindhia at this time. The Rajah of Narwar, Man Singh, was heir to a rich principality, but Sindhia had refused to acknowledge him as his father's successor. Man Singh, at the head of his clan, 12,000 strong, captured by surprise Sindhia's fort of Pauri, 18 miles north-west of Sipri. By position and art it was strong, resting on a precipice, flanked by deep jungle-covered ravines on one side, and with walls from 25 feet to 50 feet high and 10 feet thick. Man Singh sought an interview with Brigadier Smith and satisfied him of the accuracy of his story, that although rebellious to Sindhia, yet he was loyal to the British Government, but the general told him: "I am answerable for the peace of the district. Give up the fort."

Man Singh refused, and Napier came down from Gwalior and bombarded it for twenty-four hours, when Man Singh and his uncle, Ajit Singh, evacuated the fort, and marched southwards. Napier sent Major Robertson, Commandant of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, in pursuit. Robertson had distinguished himself at Dhar with Colonel Durand; again under Sir Hugh Rose, in all his actions, and now, acting on

his own responsibility, he achieved one of the most brilliant of the many remarkable feats accomplished in Central India. When Man Singh heard he was being pursued he divided his men into 3 bodies. His uncle, Ajit Singh, with a force composed of the mutinous Gwalior Contingent, and representatives of 6 battalions of the Bengal army, was encamped on the Parbati River near Guna. Robertson left Pauri with a squadron of the 8th Hussars, one of Meade's Horse, 4 cannon of different calibres, 3 companies of British, and 4 companies of Bombay Native Infantry, on August 26, and, making forced marches southwards, heard on September 3 that there were rebels near Gunali, 23 miles ahead. Leaving the bulk of his troops and baggage, he took on 50 sabres of the 8th Hussars, 150 of Meade's Horse, 75 men of the 86th (2nd Royal Irish Rifles), 90 of the 95th (2nd Sherwood Foresters), and 200 men selected from the 10th and 25th Bombay Infantry, all the foot-men being carried on elephants and camels. At daylight next morning Robertson saw the rebels on the far side of the Parbati, and as they had no pickets, or even camp sentries, he was able to cross the river unseen, and then sent his mounted men round to the rear of Ajit Singh's camp. The rebels were bathing and cooking when Robertson attacked, but they sold their lives as dearly as they could under the circumstances. Between 400 and 500 dead bodies of Ajit Singh's force of 600 men were counted. Robertson lost 5 officers, and 18 of other ranks killed and wounded.

TANTIA TOPI

Tantia Topi's first success in Central India was at Jhalra Patan, 60 miles to the west of the Parbati,

where Robertson had destroyed Ajit Singh's force. The Rajah of this well-built town was loyal to the British Government, but when the rebels arrived, on August 20, his troops behaved as Sindhia's had done at Morar. Tantia having failed to extract from the Rajah as large a war contribution as he wanted, had him brought before the Rao Sahib, and after much argument the contribution was settled at £150,000. During the night, when £50,000 had been handed over, the Rajah was so insulted that he fled to Mau.

GENERAL MICHEL'S PURSUIT

Tantia Topi, learning that the Chambal was still rising, knew he was safe from his pursuers, and rested five days, issuing three months' pay to the troops. He annexed 30 guns, and everything of value he could remove from Jhalra Patan, and then marched with 10,000 men towards Indur, where he hoped to gain over Holkar's troops. The command of the British troops in Malwa and Rajputana had just been taken over by Major-General J. Michel, C.B., a clever, handsome, well-educated officer, a fine horseman, active and of great determination. He was the chief organiser of the rapid pursuits which wore down Tantia's strength and disheartened his men. The general led his troops in battle whenever he could, but gave all the column commanders perfect freedom of action, interfering only when it was necessary to co-ordinate their movements.

General Michel, foreseeing that Tantia Topi would probably move from Patan towards Indur, despatched Colonel Lockhart, of the 92nd (2nd Gordon Highlanders), in command of a small column of native troops to Ujjen, due north of Holkar's capital. When Lockhart arrived at Susnir the officers in command of

his Native troops advised him that it would be unwise to trust their men in action against Tantia Topi's troops without a backing of Europeans; so Lockhart intrenched, and, sending back for reinforcements, was joined by half a battalion of the 71st Highland Light Infantry, under Colonel Hope. Soon afterwards a squadron of the 17th Lancers, under Captain Sir William Gordon, and half a battalion of Lockhart's Highlanders, came up from Mau, and General Michel assumed command and moved towards Rajgarh, 20 miles to the east. The heat was intense, some artillery horses falling dead in the teams, and the European infantry suffered severely, several dying from sunstroke. Heavy rain fell on September 12 and 13 and prevented Tantia's and Michel's forces from moving over the black cotton-growing soil.

Sept. 14
1858

Late in the afternoon of the 14th, Michel's advanced guard arrived at Rajgarh, a walled-in town, and saw Tantia's force encamped on the far side of the river on which the town stands. One-third of the European infantry were lying 3 miles back, prostrate on the track, but the 4th and 18th Bombay Native Infantry coming up to the advanced guard volunteered to attack the enemy; the general, however, decided to wait for the Europeans, and at 4 a.m. next day he moved forward. The enemy had marched the previous evening, and when Michel crossed the river a rearguard was holding a position 2 miles to the east; but, after an exchange of innocuous artillery fire, when the European infantry advanced to attack, the rebels moved off much faster than the British soldiers could follow. Sir William Gordon, with his own squadron and 2 of Native cavalry brushing away a screen of Gwalior Contingent cavalry, came on many cannon abandoned by the artillerymen, but

in one case only did a detachment stand up to die while serving its guns. Lieutenant Evelyn Wood, 17th Lancers, with a dozen Native cavalry, when riding in advance of the mounted men through low scrub, came suddenly, at a bend of the track, on a gun 300 yards distant. A mutineer stood with lighted slow-match, ready to fire the gun, but there being no time to open out, the party went on at a gallop, and the projectile passing over their heads, the gunners were cut down, and the gun captured without loss. The day was very hot, and, the horses being unable to draw the guns, the artillery and infantry soon halted; but Sir William Gordon pursued till 4 p.m., by which time he had picked up 26 guns and a large mortar. The horses, without water for twenty-four hours, were then exhausted, and the adjutant of the Native cavalry succumbed to sun-stroke. Nearly half the horses were non-effective next day.

Tantia Topi retreated 65 miles in an easterly direction without a halt till he reached Sironj, a town belonging to Tonk, though widely separated from the rest of the principality. He then rested his exhausted men in security, for heavy rain prevented Michel, who had marched in a south-easterly direction in order to protect Bhopal, moving his wheeled transport more than a few miles daily. Michel sent his Native cavalry, however, to hang on Tantia's force, and the difficulties of moving troops in the rainy season may be gathered from the fact that when making a reconnaissance the writer of this narrative rode on a track which was for 6 miles under water. When the rain ceased Tantia Topi, having annexed 4 guns at Sironj, marched northwards and captured Isagarh, one of Sindhia's towns north-east of Guna,

Sept. 25
1858

with 7 guns, killing all the male adults, and burning the women's clothes.

Oct. 9
1858

Tantia Topi then marched from Isagarh to Chanderi, another of Sindhia's forts, and tried to persuade the commandant to surrender it. He, however, was not only loyal, but brave, and repulsed an attack. After this Tantia moved southwards, meeting unexpectedly General Michel at Mangrauli. Michel had sent most of his mounted men towards Isagarh on Tantia's track, but easily drove off Tantia's troops, though some of them, cutting into the baggage column, slaughtered several sick soldiers. Sir William Gordon, with 43 of the 17th Lancers, galloping from the front to the rear of the column, surprised them in the act, and killed 90 men, Sir William transfixing 3 men with his sword. Tantia abandoned his 5 guns, and fled to Lalitpur, where he rejoined the Rao Sahib, from whom he had separated at Isagarh. The Rao, leaving Tantia, who required rest, at Lalitpur, marched in a south-easterly direction, while Michel was heading for Lalitpur with the following force: a squadron and a half 8th Hussars, two Native cavalry squadrons, all detached from General Smith's column, and Gordon's squadron 17th Lancers, with four squadrons of Natives, half the 71st Highland Light Infantry, half the 2nd Gordon Highlanders, and two Native batteries.

Oct. 19
1858

The general heard at midnight on October 18-19, while at Narhat, that the Rao, with 10,000 men and 6 guns, was at Sindwaha, and, marching at once, came on his force at daylight. The Rao, seeing only cavalry in his front, took up a strong position on a low range of hills, the gentle southern slopes of which were studded with low conifers and patches of jungle. When Michel's cavalry approached, the Rao sent forward

infantry to hold the village and the bank of a marshy stream, 30 feet wide and 4 feet deep in water and mud, which covered the front of his position. The rebels' guns were well served, and the Rao, emboldened by the inaction of our mounted men, who were waiting for the infantry, sent several squadrons across the marshy stream by a ford; and they, charging, had nearly ridden into the rear of Sir William Gordon's squadron, which was retiring with the other squadrons by order of the Brigadier-General, when Gordon reversed his front and charged, and, the 8th Hussars conforming to his movement, the rebel horsemen were driven headlong to the stream, into which they tumbled, and with them, in one confused mass, fell 30 of the Hussars and Lancers, 4 of whom, being in the midst of the enemy, were killed; and 24 of our men's riderless horses galloped off with the rebels as they retired. The 71st and 92nd were now seen doubling up to the village, and the Rao Sahib rode off towards Lalitpur, leaving 300 Infantry to cover his retreat. These were nearly all killed, the guns were captured, and Michel personally led the horsemen in pursuit of the main body for 12 miles, killing many rebels. The British loss was 5 officers and 20 of other ranks killed and wounded.

THE END OF THE PURSUIT

The Rao Sahib, rejoining Tantia Topi at Lalitpur, decided to break through the encircling columns which were closing on them, and then crossing the Narbada into the Southern Maratha country, endeavour to induce the people to revolt. On October 21 Michel, at Lalitpur, heard that the Rao Sahib and Tantia were moving southwards. They passed, indeed,

Oct. 25
1858

within 4 miles of his camp, but the British cavalry fifty years ago did not scout far afield! Michel's infantry, 71st (Highland Light Infantry) and 92nd (Gordon Highlanders), marched 27 miles on October 23, 29 miles on the 24th, and 17 on the 25th, when they came into action at Kurai, piercing the centre of the rebel infantry, one wing of which, losing 350 in the pursuit, dispersed not to appear again.

Some of Tantia's fugitives were attacked by Colonel Becher, commanding the 2nd Beatson's Horse, a newly raised corps, who killed 40 men near Bagrod, and Tantia fled still faster across the Narbada, 40 miles to the east of Hoshangabad. He got as far on his way to Nagpur as Multai, when he heard it was guarded, and his wearied foot-men, who had followed him across the river, dispersed in the Pachmari Hills.

The country he had entered was poor; he found that the peasantry, appreciating British justice, were unfriendly, and the Haidarabad Contingent had frightened him so often that he did not venture to enter the Nizam's country, and therefore turned westwards. He impressed a small detachment of Holkar's troops with 2 guns near the Puna-Mau road, but was overtaken by Major Sutherland, 92nd Highlanders, with 100 of his battalion, and 80 men 4th Bombay Rifles, on camels. Tantia had about 3000 men, but Sutherland attacked, captured the guns, and the rebels fled. They crossed the Narbada and made for Baroda, where a Maratha prince reigned.

Michel, also crossing the river, sent Colonel Parke with mounted troops in pursuit. Parke marched 240 miles in 9 days, and defeated Tantia at Chota Udaipur, chasing him to Banswarra, but the Bhils of that district were unfriendly, and Colonel Somerset's column approaching from Rutlam, Tantia moved

towards Partabgarh. After a skirmish there he hastened to Zirapur, where he was overtaken by Colonel Benson, 17th Lancers, and, losing some of his elephants, fled to Chupra Barod. Here he was attacked by Colonel Somerset, who, with a small force, 17th Lancers, Paget's Horse Artillery battery, and 150 92nd (2nd Gordon) Highlanders on camels, had marched 171 miles, halting only to feed the animals.

Two thousand horsemen formed up and advanced on Paget's guns, but slackened the pace when the first shot knocked over the leader, and then, being charged by the squadron 17th Lancers, formed "In rank entire," they dispersed.

On January 13, Tantia was joined by Firuzshah, Jan. 1859 who had come from Sitapur. He had been severely beaten on his journey by Brigadier-General (later Field-Marshal Lord) Napier near Guna, losing 150 of the 12th Irregulars, who had murdered Major Holmes, their commanding officer, at Sigauli, in July 1857. Tantia now fled northwards to Alwar, 250 miles from Barod. From Alwar he turned westwards, and made for Sikar, where he was again defeated, this time by Major Holmes, 83rd (1st Royal Irish Rifles), in command of a small mounted force, which had marched 54 miles in 24 hours from Nasirabad, and 600 disheartened rebels now surrendered to the Rajah of Bikanir. Tantia then left the troops, riding with personal attendants to the Paron jungles near Narwar in Man Singh's country.

The Rao Sahib, with 3000 followers, turned southwards, and was chased by different columns. Colonel Somerset marched rather over 40 miles daily for six days in one week, from Musooda, 25 miles south-west

of Nasirabad, along the eastern slopes of the Aravelli range to near Banswarra, where Lieutenant Evelyn Wood, Staff officer to the column, induced the surrender of Jaroor Ali and 250 men of Firuzshah's escort. The Prince was about to surrender, but when several columns closed in he became alarmed and fled. He escaped, although very nearly captured on several occasions. Lieutenant Evelyn Wood, 17th Lancers, commanding the 2nd Central India Horse in 1860, after a forced march of 40 miles, would have arrested him but for the treachery of a rajah, who delayed the lieutenant until the Prince had time to escape disguised as a woman. He was alive in 1888.

The Rao Sahib hid in the Sironj jungles, and when life therein became unendurable, from incessant pursuit, he wandered about different districts in disguise, until 1862, when he was arrested, tried, and hanged at Cawnpur for murdering Europeans.

April 1859 Major Meade, acting under the instructions of General (later Field-Marshal Lord) Napier, accepted Man Singh's submission on the 2nd of April, and on the 7th the Rajah betrayed Tantia Topi into Meade's hands, guiding himself a company of Native soldiers, who surrounded the Maratha's hiding-place. Tantia was hanged on April 18 for rebellion. He had made a long voluntary statement, in which he alleged that he had committed no murders, and had merely obeyed the commands of the Peshwa his master. There is, however, in the magistrate's office at Cawnpur full and conclusive evidence that Tantia superintended the first massacre at that place, one witness averring that he heard him order troopers to ride into the Ganges to kill the Christians in the boats who had been wounded by bullets.

Although he never risked his life more than he

could help, he was active and clever. In the nine months during which he eluded the pursuit of numberless columns he must have marched over 2800 miles. General Michel, who organised the pursuit, rode himself over 1800 miles in the chase.

When Tantia was hanged peace was restored in Central India, and the 8000 rebels who were in the Sironj district early in April gradually dispersed, but that vast and dense jungle sheltered some few stubborn mutineers, who later became bandits, being screened by many of the village headmen, and so were able for a year to give trouble. Detachments were employed in pursuing these bandits until September 1860, and an officer of the Cavalry 1860 Regiment, now Prince of Wales's Central India Horse, was killed in a skirmish during July of that year.

CHAPTER XXI

EASTERN BENGAL

IT is not within the limits of this book to record the numberless risings which took place, and were in most cases suppressed by isolated civilians, or by soldiers acting in a Civil capacity, who, by their dauntless bearing in the hours of danger, induced Asiatics to follow them, and defeat mutineers and rebels of their own race. The extent of the zone of operations in Eastern Bengal may be gathered, however, by the statement that while Mr. Yule, the intrepid Commissioner of Eastern Bihar, with headquarters at Bhagalpur, 250 miles north-west of Calcutta, assisted by the Rajah of Tiparah, and some loyal Zamindars, was driving mutineers into Nepal, 200 miles to the north of his headquarters, there was trouble at Dhakah, 250 miles to the south-east, and at Sambalpur, 350 miles south-west of Bhagalpur.

In Western Bihar, Kunwar Singh, who had been defeated and driven from his chief town, Jagdispur, by Major Vincent Eyre, after the relief of Arah, reoccupied his residence in April 1858. When that able Rajah learnt that all the British troops were concentrating at Lucknow he made a dash for Azamgarh, with 1200 Sipahis and 500 of his tenants. Lieutenant (now General Sir G. B., G.C.B.) Milman, 37th (1st Hampshire) Regiment, with 2 companies, 2 light guns, and

half a squadron 4th Madras Cavalry, marched out, at nightfall of March 21, and attacked him next day. Milman's men behaved well, but they were driven back, and his transport drivers deserting, want of food compelled him to return to Azamgarh. The senior officer at Benares on learning the news sent off reinforcements, and the Governor-General, then at Allahabad, 80 miles farther to the west, on the 27th March sent Lord Mark Kerr, with 300 of his battalion, 1-13th (Somerset Light Infantry) Regiment, who opened the road and relieved Azamgarh after a fight which was only won by Lord Mark's determination, after the transport drivers, foreseeing disaster, had fled. He lost 42 officers and men killed and wounded.

Sir Colin Campbell, on hearing of the repulse of Mar. 29
Milman's small force, on March 29, ordered a brigade 1858
of infantry, 700 Sikh cavalry, and 18 guns, under General Lugard, to proceed to Azamgarh. Kunwar Singh stood on the Tons River, and in an action which ensued, Mr. Venables, the gallant indigo planter, was mortally wounded. The mutinous Danapur brigade covered Kunwar Singh's retreat by forming squares, and fighting grandly repulsed the Sikh cavalry. Captain Middleton, 29th (1st Worcestershire) Regiment, and Farrier Murphy evinced great courage in bringing off Lieutenant Hamilton, 3rd Sikhs, who was mortally wounded, and Middleton (afterwards Commandant, Royal Military College) a few minutes later saved a wounded dismounted trooper of the Military train, by fighting hand-to-hand against numbers of the mutineers.

Kunwar Singh, by skilfully managed retreats, outwitted our generals. He had another fight on the 20th with General Douglas, and then crossed the

April 26
1858

Ganges, 7 miles below Ballia, where 2 Madras Cavalry Regiments awaited him. General Douglas reached the north bank of the river in time to capture a gun, and sink the last boat, and a chance shot wounded Kunwar Singh, who died that night after amputation of the hand. His men went on to Jagdispur, where Amar Singh, his brother, had collected some armed villagers. The arrival of Kunwar Singh's men being reported on the 23rd, Captain Le Grand, 35th (1st Royal Sussex) Regiment, with 150 of his battalion, 50 of the Naval Brigade, 150 Rattray's Sikhs, and with two 12-pounder Howitzers, marching from Arah, early in the morning met 2000 of Kunwar Singh's men.

Just as the British infantry were entering some jungle a bugler sounded "the Retire." Le Grand and his officers tried to re-form the men, who, falling back in disorder on Arah, abandoned the Howitzers, but the gunners, refusing to leave their cannon, were all killed. Le Grand, 2 other officers, and 100 of the detachment perished.

June

On June 15, General Lugard, who had inflicted much loss on the rebels in the Ganges valley, was invalided, being succeeded by General Douglas.

All through July, August, and September, small parties of rebels disturbed the district principally south of the Ganges and west of the Son River. Eventually Captain (later General Sir Henry, V.C., Bt.) Havelock obtained permission to mount 60 of the 10th (1st Lincolnshire) Regiment, and then, with a nominal loss, the district was cleared in a week, a duty which 3000 infantry had failed to accomplish in many months, although Douglas's infantry had on one occasion marched 25 miles a day for five days in succession.

ODUH

The Commander-in-Chief left for Allahabad on April 1858 April 9 to confer with the Governor-General, and the concluding operations of the suppression of the revolt in Oudh were intrusted by Sir Colin Campbell to a fellow-countryman, Hope Grant, one of the grandest characters the writer of these pages has ever known. Tall, spare, but muscular, the longest day's work never tired him. Although a good and cultivated musician, he was not well educated and did not always express his wishes clearly, but he had the best instincts of a soldier, and he was as morally courageous as he was physically brave. Sir Colin Campbell, who had known and admired him since 1841, wrote of him in 1861: "He has sound judgment, and as to handling troops in the field, he is quite perfection, and has no master."

Sir Hope Grant moved on April 11 to attack the Maulavi, who was at Bari, 23 miles to the east of Lucknow, with 3000 troops. During the night of the 12th-13th, a troop of the 12th Irregulars, reconnoitring, rode through Grant's camp, 5 miles west of Bari, and were challenged, but, giving the name of their regiment, were unmolested, it not being remembered that they had mutinied ten months previously. The rebel chief next morning ordered his cavalry to move to the rear of Hope Grant's column, where 6000 waggons offered a tempting prize. The British general was behind the column seeing heavy guns hauled over a deep nala, when the rebel cavalry leader, seeing 2 guns with the advanced guard and with only a small escort, attacked and captured them, but it was only for a minute, for Captain Topham, 7th Hussars, galloping up with a squadron, the enemy abandoned the guns, and then made for the baggage in rear,

where 2 companies 1st Bengal (1st Royal Munster) Fusiliers by a volley at 30 yards, assisted by a determined charge of the squadron 7th Hussars, led by Captain Topham, in which he was speared by a rebel, drove them off, and the Maulavi's foot-men retreated from Bari losing two Colours, which the infantry captured.

Sir Hope Grant received orders on April 21 to return to Lucknow, and at Masauli met the Nepalese Contingent. The force of 8000 infantry and 20 guns had 2000 sick, and was accompanied by 4000 carts, each of which had a soldier to guard it, so the difficulties of marching through scattered bands of the enemy were great.

Sir Hope Grant after some skirmishes returned to the Alambagh on May 6.

ROHILKHAND

April 7
1858

Another division left Lucknow on April 7 for Rohilkhand, and on the 15th came on Ruiya, a small mud fort, 25 miles north of Bithur. A trooper of Hodson's Horse who had been taken prisoner by the rebels escaped, and informed the general that the Rajah Narpatt Singh would only make a show of resistance to save his honour, and then retreat. The general disbelieved the story; he would not wait, and without having made a reconnaissance, sent part of his brigade to storm the fort on its strongest side, where without ladders it was impregnable. The result was disastrous. Two companies of the 42nd Highlanders reached the ditch, as did Captain Cafe with 120 4th Panjabis (54th Sikhs Frontier Force). Lieutenant Willoughby (attached) and 46 were killed or wounded before he was ordered to retire. Cafe borrowed Privates Thomson

and Spence, 42nd (Black Watch) Highlanders, and recovered Willoughby's body; Cafe was hit, and Spence mortally wounded in bringing it back under heavy fire. Cafe and Thomson received the Victoria Cross. The two companies, 42nd Highlanders, being ordered to retire, fell back as steadily as if they were on an ordinary parade, but 2 officers and 55 of other rank were killed, as was Lieutenant Harrington, an Artilleryman. The greatest loss of all, however, was that of Brigadier Adrian Hope. Sir Colin Campbell wrote: "His death causes to the Commander-in-Chief the deepest regret," and he eulogised Hope's undaunted courage, combined with extreme kindness and charm of manner, which had made him beloved in his brigade. Narpat Singh evacuated the fort during the night.

The division now came under the direct control of Sir Colin Campbell, who arrived with other troops from Fathgarh, and leaving a garrison at Shah-jahanpur, the Commander-in-Chief moved on Bareli, which was occupied by Khan Bahadur with a large body of rebels. The troops left Faridpur very early and, the enemy falling back, were halting at 7 a.m., three-quarters of a mile from Bareli, to allow the baggage to close up, when a body of Ghazi Rohillas ran out of some houses, which were then being occupied by the 4th Panjabis. They were surprised by the impetuous rush of the big elderly fanatics intent on being slain in the act of killing an infidel, and thus securing a direct path to Paradise. The late Sir William Howard Russell, the *Times* correspondent, saw the onslaught, and vividly described the scene. With flashing swords the fanatics ran over the Sikhs, and yelling, "For our Religion," dashed against the 42nd Highlanders. They stood firm, and, though some were killed, no Ghazi who attacked the line

failed in his desire to die. A small number ran past the flank of the Highlanders, towards the rear. Three pulled Colonel Cameron off his horse, and were trying to kill him, when Colour-Sergeant Gardner ran out of the Serrefile rank and bayoneted two, and another Highlander shot the third Ghazi. Gardner received the Victoria Cross.

During this onset the rebel cavalry attacked the baggage column, but were easily repulsed. The troops were encamping when 2 companies 79th (1st Queen's Own Cameron) and 93rd (2nd Argyll and Sutherland) Highlanders were sent to clear a hamlet.

Lieutenant Cooper, of the 93rd, who had distinguished himself in the assault of the Sikandarbagh in November 1857, having posted his men in ruins of houses, a battery opened on other ruins where Ghazis had been located. These buildings were set on fire by shells, and then out rushed the fanatics; 5 charged Lieutenant Cooper, who shot 2, killed another with his sword, and was fighting with a fourth when the Ghazi and his companions were shot.

While Sir Colin Campbell was taking Bareilly without difficulty the Maulavi regained Shahjahanpur, exacted a heavy war contribution from the townspeople, and bombarded the garrison left behind by Sir Colin, which had occupied the jail.

On the 7th the Commander-in-Chief sent Colonel Jones back with $2\frac{1}{2}$ battalions British, and 1 Panjabi regiment, but the Maulavi had been strongly reinforced, and Jones asked for more help. Sir Colin Campbell had begun to distribute his troops, and was returning southwards when he got Colonel Jones's message at Faridpur, and reoccupied Shahjahanpur without much trouble, the rebels melting away as he approached. The Maulavi's death practically ended the resistance

in that district. He was shot when trying to enter Powain, a walled town, 15 miles north-east of Shahjahanpur, against the wish of its Rajah.

ODDH

Sir Hope Grant left Lucknow on May 23, marching southward to seek Beni Madh, who was reported to be on the Cawnpur road. He was not there, however, and the general turned north-eastwards, towards Nawabganj, 20 miles from Lucknow, where 15,000 rebels had assembled. Hope Grant, leaving his camp equipment at Chinhat, marched from that place at midnight, June 12--13. The night was dark, and the heat so great that several of the men died of apoplexy; but at daylight Grant fell on the rebels, who, although surprised, and split up in 4 bodies, fought so as to extort the recorded admiration of their conqueror, who wrote: "I have seen many brave fellows fighting with a determination to conquer or die, but I never saw anything more magnificent than the conduct of these Zamindars (Yeomen)." They attacked with great dash, but not simultaneously. A daring leader brought 2 guns out in the open in rear of the British force, and planted 2 Green Standards near them, but the detachments were cut down by grape-shot. One charge on Hodson's Horse was so determined that the horsemen would not face it, and 2 guns, working with the regiment, were nearly taken. Then Sir Hope brought up 2 squadrons 7th Hussars, under Sir William Russell, and 2 companies of the Rifle Brigade, and the rebels retired, shouting defiantly: "Come on." Sir William Russell accepted the challenge, rode right through their formation, and then, reversing his front, again rode over these in-

May 1858

domitable men, killing great numbers. Around their 2 guns 125 dead bodies were counted.

Sir Hope Grant captured 6 guns, killed 600 men, losing 67 killed and wounded, and 33 who died during the night of heat apoplexy. This victory had important results, for the Zamindars were now disheartened. Sir Hope Grant went on eastwards, gradually stamping out the rebellion, and at the end of the year joined Brigadier-General Alfred Horsford on the Rapti River, where he was guarding the frontier to prevent the return of the 50,000 rebels from Nepal, where they had sought refuge. Horsford captured 14 guns in various fights, and the determination with which the struggle was still maintained may be gathered from the fact that when the 7th Hussars and 1st Panjab (Daly's Horse) Cavalry, pursuing the rebels eagerly, tried to ford the Rapti, many were drowned: Major Home's body was recovered, his hands still gripping fast 2 dead rebels, and 2 privates, 7th Hussars, each held in death a rebel.

CENTRAL INDIA

1860

In 1860 the fugitive bands in and around the Sironj jungles still gave so much trouble that Sir Ridmond Shakespear, the Agent for the Governor-General, and Viceroy, was offered 2 regiments to restore order. He replied that he believed "the services of young officers, then in command of Irregular Cavalry Regiments, would be more effectual," and this was on account of their activity and the influence they exerted. Colonel Malleeson, to whose volumes I have been greatly indebted in co-ordinating the events described in this narrative, tells a remarkable story, illustrative of the influence gained over natives by

large-minded Britons. Captain Ternan, who had been in the Narbada provinces for many years, was, in 1856-57, Deputy Commissioner for a district to the west of Sagar, in the fort of which town our people were invested by rebels from June 1857 to January 1858. When Sagar came under the Government of the North-West Provinces the Revenue Board proposed some drastic changes, but the Lieutenant-Governor asked for Captain Ternan's advice, and on it disallowed many of the innovations. The Rajah of Dilheri, a part of Ternan's district, was regarded as head of the Gonds, an aboriginal race of $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, with traditions of seven centuries. He was a bad manager, had been heavily in debt, but had recently paid off all his liabilities.

In 1855 Captain Ternan was ordered to inform him that being incapable of managing his estates he had forfeited them, that they would be handed over to his tenants, who would pay him a percentage of the rents, and that then he would no longer be a rajah. Captain Ternan protested against the decree, but in vain, and though he softened the wording of the decision as far as he could, yet the old chief, on receiving the decision, taking out of his waistcloth a gold medal which had been given to him for his loyalty in 1843, when there had been trouble in the district, asked Ternan to return it to the Government. He and his son died before the Mutiny. When it broke out Captain Ternan had orders to leave his station while there was yet time. He stayed on, and one morning early in June found his house surrounded by matchlock-men of the Dilheri clan, the chief of whom thus explained his action: "When the Government confiscated my grandfather's title, and our estate, you befriended us, and we know your conduct in doing so was not approved; now we'll

defend you. Give us your orders." The clan remained loyal throughout the Mutiny, and induced others to support the Government.

Doubtless on paper the Revenue Board was right from a financial point of view. The Rajah^f was apparently useless in peace time, merely spending what he did nothing to earn; and so the Board ignored the urgent advice of the officer of repute, who lived amongst the people. It is one evil of centralisation that members of Revenue Boards who do not travel about are usually devoid of imagination, and their daily work tends to make them regard all Natives as rent-paying machines.

In 1859 the serious fighting throughout India was practically over, and order was gradually restored in Oudh, where 700 cannon, 186,000 fire-arms, and over a million other weapons were surrendered. The struggle for supremacy in Hindustan had been prolonged and costly in lives and treasure, but it had evoked some of the best characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race. Difficult as was the task of the British commanders, it would have been far more so if their enemies had been commanded by capable leaders. Many of them were brave, but they lacked the power of combining the action of their troops.

On November 1, 1858, the Governor-General had become the Queen's Viceroy, on the abolition of the East India Company. The loyal Princes who had supported the British Government were liberally rewarded in honours and in more substantial ways, but to them the greatest boon of all was the repudiation of the doctrine of "The Right of Lapse"; for now the loyal feudatories were granted the right of perpetuating their dynasties, if needful, by the adoption of an heir.

CONCLUSIONS

The Briton is not by nature imaginative, but he is trusted, and no native of India the writer of this narrative ever met—and he lived for months with them without any European society—would have accepted one of his own countrymen as an arbitrator in a money case if any Briton were available. The great majority would agree with Mr. John Stuart Mill's dictum: "The British Government in India is not only one of the purest in intention, but one of the most beneficial in act ever known to mankind." Why, then, was there a Mutiny and a Revolt?

In the opening chapter many cogent reasons were given for the dissatisfaction of the Brahmans with British rule, but, powerful as was that class, it is remarkable that in the so-called non-regulation provinces the personal influence of British gentlemen was effective in counteracting the mistrust which the aristocracy and peasantry of Hindustan felt in the good faith of the British Government.

On the other hand, in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, where regulations had been introduced, primarily in the interests of the lower classes, and enforced, though opposed to national sentiment, the people, with few exceptions, were hostile to their British overlords; nevertheless, a revolt would have been nearly impossible, had not the Hindu conspirators been enabled to foment a mutiny, assisted in their endeavours by the thoughtless acts of unimaginative British officials in a Government factory who, by manufacturing polluted cartridges, provided a burning grievance in the army. This was a grievance terrible beyond all others, since, according

to the belief of the soldiers, it affected both Hindus and Muhammadans, not only in this world, but also in that to come.

The discontented Sipahis were encouraged by their knowledge of the fact that they outnumbered their white comrades in the proportion of 6 to 1 in India. They were, moreover, so thoroughly persuaded that there were no more British soldiers in reserve, that when the first kilted battalions landed in Calcutta many believed the rumour that the widows of the men they had killed had come to avenge the fall of their husbands.

With these ideas prevalent in the Bengal army a few dissatisfied soldiers were found in every corps ready to mutiny. The majority really believed that the Government intended to abolish Caste, as a preliminary step to their forcible conversion to Christianity. The Hindus were persuaded that it was with this view the fat of cows—to them, sacred animals—had been put on the new cartridges; while to Muhammadans it was alleged the lubricating matter was a product of pigs, condemned by the Prophet as unclean. Both allegations were well founded as to the substances employed, but there is as little doubt as to the entire absence of premeditation.

Eastern nations readily accept the arbitrament of the sword, and, after a decisive defeat in battle, generally submit without further resistance to the will of their conquerors. The annexation of Oudh, however, in peace time appeared to our Native subjects and allies to be a breach of faith, which could neither be explained away nor justified, to them, by any misrule, however scandalous, of the Nawab, or by the oppression of the Talukdars. The stories of the grievance

naturally lost nothing in intensity when repeated by the Oudh soldiers ; and, as this race was represented in the Bombay army, in the contingents of Native States, and formed over 60 per cent. of the Bengal army, the angry feeling of all classes in Oudh was quickly disseminated throughout India. Thus the annexation of a friendly State, and the absorption of lesser principalities, carried out without regard to older forms of civilisation, and in many cases by honest, but unsympathetic, agents, conduced greatly to rebellion. Revolt was, then, the outcome of annexations, which had been undertaken in the interests of the peasantry ; and of centralisation coupled with well-meant, but mistaken, attempts to govern in accordance with systems prevailing in the United Kingdom millions of Asiatics, as numerous as the peoples of Europe and of as many different religions.

Much has been done, however, since 1857 in ameliorating the condition of our Eastern subjects ; but to them the greatest of all the incalculable benefits conferred by British rule has been the maintenance of internal peace, which can only be assured while Princes and Peoples realise that the paramount Power "beareth not the sword in vain."

EVELYN WOOD

In writing "The Revolt in Hindustan" I have recorded my local experiences in India in 1858-1860, and I have consulted the following books:—

1. History of the Sepoy War. Sir J. W. Kaye.
2. History of the Indian Mutiny. Kaye and Malleson.
3. History of the Indian Mutiny. G. W. Forrest.
4. Lives of Indian Officers. Sir J. W. Kaye.
5. Views and Opinions. Colonel John Jacob.
6. Forty-One Years in India. Lord Roberts.
7. Life of John Nicholson. L. J. Trotter.
8. Incidents in the Sepoy War. Colonel H. Knollys.
9. Life of General Sir Hope Grant. Colonel H. Knollys.
10. Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India. Major Hodson.
11. Hodson of Hodson's Horse. L. J. Trotter.
12. Life of Lord Lawrence. R. Bosworth Smith.
13. Life of Sir Henry Lawrence. Sir Herbert Edwardes and Herman Merivall.
14. India under Victoria. L. J. Trotter.
15. The Story of a Soldier's Life. Lord Wolseley.
16. Cawnpore. Sir G. O. Trevelyan.
17. Soldiers of the Victorian Age. C. Rathbone Low.
18. Tale of the Great Mutiny. W. H. Fitchett.
19. Britain's Roll of Glory. D. H. Parry.
20. Life of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. General Graham.
21. The Punjab and Delhi in 1857. Rev. J. Cave-Browne, M.A.
22. Several Regimental Histories.

APPENDIX

*(Extract from TIMES' leading Articles of
October 2, 1907)*

THERE are some great struggles in history, some awful experiences, which seem to purify a man's whole being, to clear away the meannesses and leave only the things that really matter in his character. Such a struggle was the Indian Mutiny, and those of us who have known and spoken with men who were in India at the time feel that we have spoken with men indeed, and that our burden of maintaining the British tradition which they have handed down is a heavy one.

But the number even of those who have met such men is diminishing, and it is important for many reasons that we should not lightly forget the causes of the Mutiny, its history, and the methods by which it was suppressed. We are therefore glad to be able to give our readers an account of the Mutiny by one of those who took a glorious part in that great struggle; this account, the first instalment of which we give to-day, will be completed in eighteen issues of the *Times*. Its author, Sir Evelyn Wood, like his two distinguished colleagues in the small band of our Field-M Marshals, Lords Wolseley and Roberts, was not only a combatant at the Mutiny, but also, like them, as everybody knows, has proved himself a spirited chronicler of his experiences on this and other fields. Sir Evelyn was not in India

during the first year of the Mutiny, but in 1858 he took a very prominent part for so young a man in the pursuit of Tantia Topi, the De Wet of the campaign, and won his V.C. at the battle of Sindwaha; after the suppression of the Mutiny he served in India till the end of 1860, and since then, it is hardly necessary to remind our readers, has seen service in many parts of the world, and has held offices which have naturally brought him into touch with soldiers and statesmen who have known the India of the Mutiny and the India of the last fifty years. It is therefore with no small authority that our veteran Field-Marshal writes of actions in which he took part himself, or of which he heard from the mouths of comrades and eye-witnesses, while his mature judgment on the causes of disaffection, a matter of special importance to us now and, indeed, at all times, is of singular value to his countrymen responsible for the welfare of India. We will not attempt to recapitulate these causes, stated by Sir Evelyn in the instalment published to-day; we may perhaps summarise their effect in one sentence, which we believe to be as true of India and Egypt to-day as it was fifty years ago of India. Our temptation is not to govern unjustly or contrary to the best interests of the Natives, but to be somewhat obtuse as to the strength of their prejudices, which we brush aside; and therefore to exercise less patience than we should in persuading them of the need of necessary reforms.

(From the Same, October 19, 1907)

With the chapter which we publish to-day, Sir Evelyn Wood has brought his graphic record of the Indian Mutiny to a judicial close. No one, and least of all an author who writes with the traditional modesty

of his profession, would claim for the narratives which have appeared daily in our columns for three weeks that nice adjustment of the scales which enables the detached and scientific historian, after years of training and practice in his art, to marshal facts into perspective according to their relative values, and so to provide material for the final verdict of time. But we have evidence, both from the general public and from men who fought through those dark and violent days and lived on to see the fruit of their work in a more settled and prosperous India, that the direct vigour of style which comes from personal recollection and from practical experience of war has served its purpose, in quickening the national memory of deeds which neither fifty nor five hundred years can carry into oblivion. This was the purpose which induced both the writing and the publication, in spite of the fact that the Indian Mutiny has not lacked its inspired chroniclers. The standard volumes of Kaye and Malleon, written when the events were still fresh in the minds of their countrymen, the valuable work of Mr. G. W. Forrest, whose wider History of India is in preparation, and the stirring and popular version of Dr. Fitchett are only three of the many histories which, with memoirs and biographies, make up the extensive literature of the subject. Sir Evelyn Wood's narrative will not compete with those we have named, though the student of the period will not have failed to notice some personal reminiscences and fragments of oral tradition, in the light of which the standard books may require revision. But, apart from any actual additions to our knowledge which may have been made, the narrative has attracted attention by virtue of qualities for which history is not always conspicuous. His simple delight in brave deeds, his unwillingness to dwell upon

the events, both necessary and avoidable, which form a darker side of war, and his witness to the persistence of humaner instincts—as, for example, when the men under Sir Hugh Rose ensured the safety of Native children at the risk of their own lives—will not have come as a surprise even to those who have followed the author's gallant career only in his recently published autobiography. But there are other qualities in the narrative which were not to have been anticipated with such confidence from a military writer. We refer more especially to one or two drily humorous passages which relieve the austere record of duty done; to the impartiality which enables him, when occasion demands, to praise a rebel and to rebuke a countryman; and to the fine accommodation of justice to reticence, which prompts him, when the failure of British nerves or initiative imperilled the success of our arms, to record the offence without naming the offender. Happily, such incidents were few, and Sir Evelyn Wood's chapters can be read with pride as well as with profit by those who would understand the basis of our rule in India.

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